

A Psychoanalytic Approach to the Study of International Relations

a Thesis submitted by

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Abstract

This thesis tries to demonstrate that psychoanalytic principles, primarily those developed by Sigmund Freud, can be extrapolated from the individual to the collective level-of-analysis in order to formulate a paradigm of international relations. The first part illustrates that structural concepts of Freudian psychoanalysis provide a model of human psychology by which traditions of international political thinking, both Western and non-Western, can be compared and analysed; it is argued that the 'id-ego-superego' model provides a trans-cultural and trans-historical representation of political philosophy. Similarly, although Freud's writing on political and social themes did not examine the political philosophies of either Western or non-Western traditions in any depth, nor elaborate a theory of international relations, his analyses of political and social affairs, while limited, would seem to have applied his individual models of human psychology to analyse relations between group actors such as states, even though he did not make this explicit. Nonetheless, this thesis extrapolates psychoanalytic principles to the level of state and non-state groupings in order to develop a psychoanalytic theory of international relations based on four main themes: first, that the 'id-ego-superego' model of human socialisation can be used to construct an 'order out of chaos theory' of international society; secondly, that ego psychology can be used to analyse the foreign policy interactions of state *apparats*; thirdly, that psychoanalytic precepts can be used to construct a 'fourth image' of war, and finally, that the psychoanalytic model developed in this thesis intersects with the three main paradigms of modern international relations theory, namely structuralism, pluralism, and realism/idealism, which suggests that they need not be considered as mutually exclusive bodies of theory. It is concluded that the concepts elaborated in this thesis, which are illustrated by means of historical observations and case studies, constitute a theoretical model that offers a distinct view of world politics.

Table of Contents

	Page
Preface.....	6
Chapter One Man, Human Nature, and International Relations Theory	8
Chapter Two Freud’s Socio-Political Thought	44
Chapter Three A Psychoanalytic Study of International Society	75
Chapter Four Foreign Policy and the Collective ‘Ego’	123
Chapter Five A Fourth Image of War and Conflict	188
Chapter Six The Inter-Paradigm Debate: A Psychoanalytic Perspective	224
Final Conclusions and Propositions.....	269
Appendix One	273
Appendix Two.....	279
Appendix Three.....	282
Bibliography.....	283

Figures

Figure One.....	28
Figure Two	42
Figure Three	221
Figure Four.....	282

Note: Heading and numbering system for this thesis

In each chapter of this thesis headings and sub-headings are allocated numbers in the following manner:

1.0.0. This three digit code followed by a title indicates a separate topic in a chapter: number '1' indicates Chapter One, the '0' indicates that this is an introduction to Chapter One.

1.1.0. This three digit code followed by a title indicates that this is the first main topic of discussion in this chapter: i.e. the first '1' indicates the first chapter, the second '1' indicates the first main topic of this chapter, and the 'zero' indicates that this is an introduction to this topic.

1.1.1. The third '1' in this heading indicates that this section represents a separate point of discussion relating to the main topic introduced in 1.1.0.

1.1.1.0. This four digit code followed by a title represents a sub-heading of the previous section, i.e. 1.1.1.

1.1.1.0.1. This five digit code indicates a further sub-heading i.e. the discussion in this section is directly related to the subject in 1.1.1.0. Also, the theme of this section relates to the general topic introduced in 1.1.0., and the general theme of Chapter One.

1.2.0. This new three digit code followed by a title indicates a new topic, i.e. the number '2' indicates the second major topic of discussion in Chapter One, Any sub-headings in this section will follow the same numbering system outlined above.

The entire thesis follows this classification system and is meant to show how topics and sub-topics are interrelated.

[Disclaimer: it is to be understood, herein, that whenever a reference is made to 'he' within the body of this text, which is not directly linked to a specific masculine subject, the author means that 'he or she' is to be the implied subject of discussion. No exceptions to this rule, whatsoever, must be assumed or read into the text.]

Preface

Though this thesis focuses on Freudian methodology, it does not concern the Oedipus complex, the death wish, dream analysis, or anything which may be regarded as by-products of his central schema. It does, however, concern three key concepts Freud utilised in the study and practice of psychoanalysis to explain different dimensions of human behaviour. These include the terms id, ego, superego, to which Freud attributed an asocial-aggressive, reality-orientation, and moralising function, respectively. The purpose of this dissertation is to test the relevance, or otherwise, of this methodology to an understanding of the nature of politics in general and international politics in particular.

Freud wrote quite extensively about international relationships. He produced papers on subjects as diverse as the causes and consequences of war, the League of Nations, nation-building, and normative issues, but, like Marx who contributed articles on international affairs to the *New York Daily Tribune* (Marx, 1951) and other American journals, he tended not to use his basic methodology in so doing, even though it was generally implicit. However, the fact that Freud made comparatively little of it in his analysis of relations between states and other international entities does not mean that no one else can or should. As a medical practitioner with training in Psychiatry, as well as in Sociology, Psychology, Anthropology and International Relations; and with work experience in NGOs and the United Nations, I felt it appropriate to make the effort. This thesis represents an attempt to outline and then test, in the form of historical case studies, the relevance, or otherwise, of the Freudian psychoanalytic method to an understanding of international relations.

At first sight, there might seem to be little connection between this methodology, which springs from Freud's clinical observations regarding human behaviour, and the nature of international relationships. On the other hand, if one considers briefly the major philosophical traditions regarding international relations in both Western and Eastern societies they are generally grounded in quasi-psychological theories concerning human nature. Moreover, there is recognisable congruence between the main traditions of relevant thought in Western and non-Western literature. Consider first the major Western traditions as adumbrated by Martin Wight in his work *International Theory: The Three Traditions*. The Realist, Rationalist, and Revolutionist schools each presume certain characteristics of man's nature. So much for Wight's work.

In ancient China there were surprisingly similar traditions of speculation-Legalists, Taoists, and Confucianists-to those in the West. And, as an intellectual cosmopolitan with an

interest in the totems and taboos of such societies, Freud would probably have been aware of them. They would, in other words, have been part of the intellectual climate which he had imbibed. In addition to those major traditions, Freud was himself aware of theories which drew analogies between individuals and group-persons, such as states, and also saw history as being in a process of evolution. What, then, might he have learnt from the study of philosophers as diverse as Rousseau, Kant and Hegel? Sections of Freud's writing on socio-political matters suggest the influence of Kant's and Rousseau's social contract theories; his few references to the state as a collective person resembles Hegel's notion of the state as a group 'mind'.

In a sense, Freud's structural theory of personality and his writings on international themes represent an amalgamation of various insights pre-dating his work. Therefore, it might be appropriate to refer to him as an intellectual sponge who mopped up ideas from many strands of philosophy. Roazen has described this characteristic of Freud's to "pluck" ideas from other theorists, without destroying his originality or integrity, as the mark of an original theorist (Roazen, 1968, pp.85-86). Yet, the final product of his effort was a theory of personality which is unique. It will be the task of this thesis to link Freud's dialectical theory of human nature to an analysis of relationships between collectivities such as states. In some places it will be necessary to supplement Freud's ideas with those of other psychoanalytic theorists, such as his daughter, Anna Freud: although she borrowed Freud's basic concepts, and her work is compatible with his system of thought, she helped to develop the psychoanalytic theory of the defence mechanisms and 'ego' psychology.

Chapter One: Man, Human Nature, and International Relations

Theory

“All political theory presupposes some kind of theory about human nature, some basic anthropological theory”(Martin Wight, 1994, p.25).

1.0.0. Introduction

Martin Wight’s provocative assertion, above, re-opens the uncomfortable Pandora’s box of human nature and all the controversial debates which accompany this theme, not only in international relations but in the social sciences generally.

Isaiah Berlin, in his article *Does Political Theory Still Exist?* (1964, pp.28-29) expresses a view similar to Wight’s. He observes that,

“In so far as it is such fundamental conceptions of man that determine political doctrines (and who will deny that political problems e.g. about what men and groups can or should be or do, depend logically and directly on what man’s nature is taken to be ?), it is clear that those who are governed by these great integrating syntheses bring to their study something other than empirical data.... Unless we understand...what notions of man’s nature... are incorporated in these political outlooks, what in each case is the dominant model, we shall not understand our own or any human society....”

Furthermore, Berlin argues that when political philosophers reject other scholars’ ideas, the critique is not based on empirical or logic deficiencies alone: a political theorist will condemn his opponents for not comprehending “what men are and what relationships between them-or between them and outside forces-make them men”. (Berlin, 1961, p.24). Ideas about human nature, at least for Isaiah Berlin, form the crux of all political theories.

In contrast to Berlin’s ideas, other theorists, such as Kenneth Waltz, feel that theories of ‘human nature’ in international politics are ‘irrelevant’ (Stern, 1995, p.39), and it is on these grounds that he attempts to construct a more ‘scientific’ version of international political behaviour. What Waltz’s theory implies is that a certain ‘anarchical’ social system, i.e. not ruled by a legitimate or competent government, is more permissive of self-satisfying, self-help behaviour than a system based on a hierarchic order i.e. one ruled by a government (Waltz, 1979, pp.114-116). However, it would seem that Waltz’s third image analysis still presumes a somewhat pessimistic view of man: if anarchy exists, i.e. in a political system without a centralised political authority, some men, and other “acting units” such as states, will be more likely than others to exploit this opportunity, and break their social contract with other men, or other states, in order to assert their self-interest, if need be by violent means (Waltz, 1959, pp.169-174). Therefore, in contrast to Waltz’s hypothesis, the first chapter of this thesis will try

to show that a general assumption of human nature would seem to be an inherent part of international political theory, even of those scholars, such as Waltz, who meticulously distance their work from human psychology.

Indeed, the element of human nature has been a ubiquitous feature, and often a much derided one, in theories of political activity between human collectivities, such as states, not just in recent history, but also extending back in time to the Ancient Chinese and Greek empires (Luard, 1992, pp.5, 18). Yet, there has not been, nor should there necessarily be, any consensus about what this nature actually is, and what implications it might have for political activity. However, a dichotomy between pessimistic and optimistic views of human nature would seem to be an almost constant feature of psychologising about man, and by extension, collective man. For example, Evan Luard notes that,

“Some have seen humans as naturally aggressive and have tended to conclude that this was the cause of warfare among states, ” while, “other writers have held a different view of human nature... sometimes they believe that humans are naturally good, or naturally peace-loving, and that only their rulers lead them into war” (Luard, 1992, p.3).

Furthermore, a compromise between these diametrically opposed views has also been forged by other writers. It is possible to imagine, “a middle view between these over-simplified alternatives” and “it was increasingly recognised that humans are not necessarily inherently wicked or inherently good, ‘naturally’ aggressive or ‘naturally’ peace-loving.... The same individual might be sometimes aggressive and sometimes pacific, and it was therefore important to know the reasons for these variations in behaviour” (Luard, 1992, p.3).

The apparently unresolvable tensions which seem to exist between the theoretical positions of scholars, both of the peace-loving and aggressive orientations, would seem to underscore the importance of theories relating to human behaviour in politics, both in theory and in practice. Following this line of reasoning, some scholars, such as Luard, emphasise that psychological systems of thought should have an important part to play in the analysis of international political behaviour (Luard, 1992, p.3).

In addition, the idea of human nature is the theme of Kenneth Waltz’s first image analysis of war. This image concentrates on human nature as the cause, root and branch, of war (1959, p.3). Political philosophy, in Waltz’s analysis, has portrayed man’s nature from both a fundamentally pessimistic, as well as from an optimistic stance; the optimists portraying man’s character as peaceable and sociable, the pessimists positing an anti-social and aggressive view of man.

On the one hand, for Waltz's pessimist, reality is flawed; although restraints might be placed upon the forces of evil, one cannot expect consistently good outcomes from man's actions because of an essential defect in his nature (1959, pp.18-19). The pessimist places the major onus of responsibility for war on human behavioural factors. The misery of humankind is unavoidably the residue of our 'natures' (Waltz, 1959, p.3). It is the conviction of first-image philosophers such as St. Augustine, Spinoza, and Niebuhr, that the root of all evil is man, and that his basic character is responsible for the specific evil of war (Waltz, 1959, p.3).

Niebuhr observes that "given the sinfulness of human nature, powerful men always take advantage of weak men". Furthermore, human groups are also characterised by the same characteristics, and thus "the greed of collective man must be taken for granted in the political order (Niebuhr, 1936, p.8). In particular, the egoism, i.e. self-centredness, of states is legendary: this observation justifies the pessimistic observation that no restraints have ever existed that could control the self-will and violent ambitions of the most powerful states (Niebuhr, 1941, pp.84, 111) and that war has its roots in the unconscious depths of the human psyche (Niebuhr, 1938, p.158; Waltz, 1959, p.25).

For St. Augustine, man's defective, sinful nature, i.e. the tendency to harm his fellow man, causes him to be a slave of his passions. Thus, man is incapable of living reasonably with other men in society. In addition, human problems such as war can be accounted for by the idea of original sin (Augustine, 1973, Vol.2, pp.252-253). Man's fallen condition accounts for his tendency to place his selfish interests over those of his fellow men. Man's will to preserve himself is the most important of all human motives: man would rather live in misery than risk his own annihilation (Augustine, 1973, Vol.1, pp.335-336).

Spinoza believed that man's inherent selfishness and passionate nature leads him to desire, above all other things, the most pleasure and the least pain for himself. Therefore, this self-preservation instinct leads men to be enemies, and the potential for fear and hatred is always a possibility in any human society (Spinoza, 1958, pp.271, 277).

The maxim "do not expect too much" summarises the philosophical viewpoint of Waltz's pessimists (Waltz, 1959, p.33). However, Waltz also speaks of an equally tendentious optimistic tradition of theorists such as Margaret Mead who assume that reality can be essentially good, and society harmonious (1959, p.19). Mead contends, for example, that pacific human societies, such as the Samoans, who encourage 'unaggressive' personality traits (Mead,

1935, p.285), do exist¹. It was her contention that studying other cultures like the Samoans would give 'us', i.e. American society, the knowledge required to build a 'good society' i.e. one devoid of violence (Mead, 1943, p.12). This sanguine school of human nature feels that it is important to concentrate on the way societies 'handle' the problem of aggression. For example, some cultures have actively rewarded belligerent behaviour while others have recognised it to be undesirable trait and have taken steps to extinguish it (Mead, 1943, pp.138-140). War and aggression are not an innate part of the human condition: warring behaviour is merely a human invention which has accompanied man's need to live together (Mead, 1943, p.209). Therefore, from Mead's 'rational' optimist point of view, war can be un-invented by concentrating on the cultural signals that encourage conflict. Moreover, she can imagine a "world that is not war-oriented at all" (Mead, 1943, p.138). Mead might deny that her theories are based on a perception of human nature (Mead, 1942, p.209), yet her prescriptions and outlook on world politics would seem to presume an optimistic view of human psychology and that man's psychological reactions are based on socio-cultural conditioning. Moreover, man's nature is perfectible, largely through the means of education.

Therefore, in Waltz's taxonomy of first-image theories, those focusing on the study of human nature, there is a diametrical tension between the optimist and pessimist camps. In contrast to Evan Luard's above-mentioned analysis, no middle path is proposed in Waltz's images of human behaviour.

Optimism and pessimism offer a simple pair of categories with which theories of 'human nature' can be described. The purpose of the first chapter of this thesis will be to identify a specific set of psychological variables that might expand these categories. In order to accomplish this task the next section will start by mapping out Martin Wight's ideas, and subsequently to identify a dialectical view of human behaviour which seems to be inherent in Wight's classification system. It will be suggested that certain psychological assumptions can be identified in Wight's three paradigms which can be correlated with psychoanalytic thought.

Wight's classification of international theory redefines the realist/utopian, pessimist/optimist dialectic of human nature by ordering modes of political thinking into three categories. From Wight's 'three Rs' a synthesis, from a psychoanalytic viewpoint will be constructed. Moreover, by revealing a conceptual link to psychoanalytic theory in international

¹ In a critique of Mead's work, Freedman (1983, p.157) questions the veracity of her findings. He notes that the Samoans have a reputation for being "an unusually bellicose people" as was discovered by Europeans, in 1787, when twelve members of the La Perouse Expedition lost their lives.

relations thinking, and building an analytical paradigm, this chapter sets out the groundwork for a re-examination of the state and its 'ephemeral' behaviour. This model will be expanded in the remainder of the thesis. The ultimate aim of this exercise is to build a structural model of human psychology that might be used as a trans-cultural and trans-historical 'map' of intra-state and inter-state relations.

1.1.0. The Three Traditions of Martin Wight

As a general analytic orientation in international politics, one cannot but, implicitly or explicitly, base one's theoretical aspirations or dire predictions for humankind on some type of 'theory' of what human beings are really like. This is the view posited in Wight's introduction to his chapter, *Theory of human nature* (Wight, 1994, p.25).

Martin Wight arranges the multitude of assumptions of 'human nature', which present themselves in the international relations literature, into 'paradigms'. He saw the world of international relations as being refracted through a triangular prism: the world of politics was to be discovered by analysing international political behaviour via three traditions, viz. rationalism, realism, and revolutionism. Wight was modest about the scope of his theoretical system, confessing that,

“...I have not wanted to offer any definite conclusions, apart from these: to delimit the scope of international theory, to mark out its boundaries, stake its circle. The reflective person will perhaps feel free to move round the circle and enter into any position without settling anywhere. I find my own position shifting....Rationalism was a civilising factor, Revolutionism a vitalising factor, and Realism a controlling disciplinary factor in international politics” (Wight, 1994, p.268).

This chapter contends that Wight's triad can be directly correlated with the structural features of Freud's topography² of human psychology. However, before Freud's dialectic can be superimposed over Wight's paradigms the 'Three Rs' and some of his key citations must be defined in more detail.

1.1.1. The Realists: 'Men of Blood and Iron'

According to Wight, Realist thinking about international relations can be detected in classical Graeco-Roman political philosophy. Although most of these works focused on internal politics, i.e. the Polis, Thucydides' work was principally concerned with inter-state relations.

The head of this expedition noted that small disputes were followed by fights with clubs, sticks and the like. Therefore, Mead's new-found utopia has met with some criticism.

² Topography refers to the representation of the mind as constituted by different parts localized in an imaginary psychological space (Badcock, 1992, p.174).

In addition, like modern day realists, Plato's political philosophy reflected a low conception of human nature. Moreover, the Greeks, according to Wight, did not believe that an international society could exist; outside of the boundaries of the city-state self-preservation and the law of the jungle ruled (Wight, 1994, pp.2, 16, 51).

Despite earlier Greek realist works, the true forebear of European realpolitik, enshrined in *raison d'état*, was Machiavelli. For him, as revealed in *The Prince*, the dominion of inter-state relations is no place for matters of ethics, and Machiavelli advises princes not to allow themselves to be exposed to the mercy of others more powerful, because they, thereby, become vulnerable to the discretion of others (Machiavelli, 1981, p.123). Realpolitik provides a licence for a prince, and by inference the state he leads, to be self-serving in the name of the national well-being. When the security of one's country is at stake it is not sensible to worry about matters such as justice or injustice, kindness or cruelty. On the contrary, any action, no matter how ignominious, is justified in order to preserve the freedom and autonomy of the state (Machiavelli, 1950, p.573). Thus, Sovereigns are fully warranted to disregard the interests of other states and sovereigns.

The primary 'ingredients' of international politics in Machiavellian Realism are the elements of anarchy, 'power politics, ' and warfare (Wight, 1994, p.15). In the milieu of sovereign states, anarchy is the hypothetical baseline: unlike the domestic political environment in the inter-state realm there is no governmental analogue charged with the task of maintaining peace and social order. The study of international relations presupposes that a governmental apparatus does not exist, as much as the study of order in domestic politics assumes that the political machinery of governments exists. The context of international anarchy and Hobbesian fear means that the institutions of international politics are characterised and regulated by a struggle for power and domination, whereas, in the domestic sphere these struggles are governed by an overarching framework of law and institutions underwritten by the state (Wight, 1986, p.102).

The lack of universal kinship and co-ordination in the form of a supreme governing *apparat*, combined with the lingering possibility of external pressures and violence by other autonomous state actors, encourages a competitive climate between states. Thus, a system of politics dictated by power necessitates that each government must act in such a manner as to protect the fundamental interests of the persons under its jurisdiction against the competing interests of 'other' peoples i.e. those outside the insular walls of the state. The autonomy of the state dictates that it will go to war in order to defend what it deems as its vital interests, even though these interests are often uncertain and likely to shift (Wight, 1986, p.95). In a state of

anarchy each state must take care to secure its critical needs because there is no over-arching authority to guarantee that they will be secured if the state fails to act on its own behalf. Therefore, in the name of power politics and survival, within an anarchical system, aggressive behaviour might be justified.

Even though, for the most part, Thomas Hobbes discusses the domestic realm of the state, the concept of 'realist' anarchy between states, as well as men, is most associated with his work³. In Hobbes' state of nature man is basically self-centred and asocial. Since behaviours are ruled by the passions (Hobbes, 1985, ch. vi, p.118) one cannot infer that man is basically a social animal. According to Hobbes men cannot gain pleasure, in fact they can only accrue grief, from the company of other men unless an awesome power, e.g. a Leviathan, is present to overwhelm them. This pessimistic view of human nature sets the tempo for Hobbes' pre-political state of nature in which only anarchy and chaos prevail. When an overarching authority vested with ultimate power, i.e. the means of coercion, is not present men live in a condition of war with "every man against every man". When such 'egoism', i.e. self-centredness, is not tempered anarchy rules, and men can only live in continual fear of one another. As a result, the life of man becomes "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" (Hobbes, 1985, ch. xiii, pp.185, 186).

In Hobbes' world, men who lack a powerful central government to guide their affairs easily descend into a cesspool of despair and chaos. Similarly, Wight's realist appreciates the potential for this type of recurrent chaos within the inter-state system. In other words, the international political system lacks a Leviathan that could awe states into heeding its authority, and thereby convincing states to renounce their violent actions, which are ruled by selfish passions. Therefore, international society for the hypothetical 'pure' realist is 'nothing': "the state of nature is by definition pre-contractual and non-social, so to speak of a society of states is contradictory". (Wight, 1994, p.31). Hobbes' laws of human nature postulates that morality and the exercise of power are coterminous:

"Before the names of just and unjust can have a place, there must be some coercive power to compel men equally to the performance of their covenants, by the terror of some punishment greater than the benefit they expect by the breach of their covenant" (Hobbes, 1985, ch. xv, p.202).

³ Hobbes does not often allude to the subject of international relations. However, he implies that anarchy between sovereign powers is more tolerable than between individual men in civil society (Hobbes, 1985, pp.187, 188).

The Hobbesian pre-political state is not therefore a social state, rather it is a state of “‘ravage and confusion’, ‘destruction’ and ‘darkness of hell’” (Sen, 1926, p.36). Hobbes’ analysis of human psychology ignores the possibility of a social instinct in man’s character (Sen, 1926, p.36).

If Hobbesian anarchy is an archetypal indicator of realism, then a prototype modern realist might be Morgenthau. On the one hand, Morgenthau appreciates the validity of Hobbes’ maxims because outside of national societies no integrated entity called ‘international society,’ which could formulate a stable form of political justice or equality, as nation-states do for their individual citizens, exists (Morgenthau, 1951, p.34). In the absence of an integrated international society, “morally speaking, national egotism is not the same as individual egotism...” (Morgenthau, 1951, p.36). Yet Morgenthau does not go as far as Hobbes to deny the existence of some sort of international society. For Morgenthau, the notion of international society means that the “realisation of a minimum of moral values is predicated upon the existence of national communities capable of preserving order and realising moral values within the limits of their power” i.e. political control (Morgenthau, 1951, p.38). In the absence of any over-arching moral obligation, the principle of self-preservation is a moral, psychological, and biological necessity. Furthermore, he condemns ‘holy missions,’ such as Wilson’s campaign to make the world safe for democracy, to enact principles of international moralism; these political crusades would surely bring about moral deterioration (Morgenthau, 1951, pp.37-38).

Morgenthau ‘refines’ his interpretation of ‘human nature’ into a scientific version of social forces (Morgenthau, 1985, p.18). In this way he attempts to understand the forces which direct political relations, and in turn, describe how they interact with one another. Human nature becomes a ‘scientific’ model of how collective man, in the form of the state, does and must act (Morgenthau, 1985, p.16). Man is seen as a ‘socio-biological’ repository of drives which force him to survive by propagation and domination. Thus, man’s self-centred ‘nature’ dictates that the desire to secure domination is an overriding element in all human collectivities, ranging from the family and the market, in which business organisations struggle to assert power, to the state level (Morgenthau, 1985, p.39). In essence, from the level of man to the state is a vista of Hobbesian domination and selfishness.

Morgenthau re-configures the ‘classical’ realist insights into a mid-twentieth century theoretical monolith describing the laws of state action; Morgenthau’s commandments are etched in stone for statesmen to obediently follow. However, it should be noted that it is not always clear whether Morgenthau is providing a ‘description’ of how states function, or a prescription for how he feels they ‘*ought*’ to function. The six ‘statutes’ by which the system of

states operates, as described in *Politics Among Nations* (Morgenthau, 1985, pp.4-13), are as follows: politics are dominated by objective laws based in human nature; interests in international relations are determined in terms of power⁴; interests defined as power are fixed in time and place; international relations are basically amoral; moral aspirations of a specific nation cannot be said to be universal; and the political sphere must be seen to be autonomous from other areas, such as economics. Thus, humans and collectivities, such as states, are 'egotistical' entities: they seek their aims by overwhelming the resources of their opponents if deemed necessary, in the name of national well-being. Dominant states use their political power to achieve mastery over the international domain of states: therefore, international politics is about securing and maintaining one's, i.e. the state's, prerogative.

Morgenthau, in some respects, epitomises the pessimistic pole of international relations theorising. Yet, Wight notes that Morgenthau, as well as such supposed 'arch-realists' as E.H. Carr, overlap with the Rationalist tradition, at least in some of their assumptions. The actions of Morgenthau's self-serving, 'ideal-type' state actor are tempered by the admission that a tension exists between morals and politics (law number four), and that an appreciation for 'others' interests (law number five) is essential. Therefore, it would seem that Morgenthau's realism contains inconsistencies: power must create any vestiges of morality amongst states, but ethics can exist between states, after all. (Wight, 1994, p.267) In this respect, Morgenthau's views seem to coincide with Carr's observation that morality depends on the international context, in which "the rôle of power is greater and that of morality less". Moreover, Carr admits that when self-sacrifice is ascribed to a certain state it is often the result of forced submission to a stronger power, yet, in some circumstances self-sacrifice might be a voluntary and generous act (Carr, 1983, p.168).

1.1.2. The Revolutionists: The Kantian Tradition

For revolutionists the spirit of cosmopolitanism transcends internationalism, and the whole is greater than its composite parts. The policy and theory of the Kantians has a missionary zeal about it. They aim to convert the heathens and barbarians to an ideal moral base which would ensure peace and brotherhood. 'Modern' European revolutionist thought has included the religious revolutionists, of both Catholic and Protestant varieties, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the eighteenth century French revolutionists, epitomised by the Jacobins, who were the progeny of Rousseau, and the totalitarian revolutionists of the

⁴ Stern (1995, p.5) notes that Morgenthau's definition of power is a rather chameleon-like construct. Its definition varies throughout *Politics Among Nations*.

twentieth century, exemplified by the fascists and the Marxist-Leninists (Wight, 1994, pp.8-11).

A common thread linking these movements is their insistence on the application or imposition of a common normative system on humanity in order to reach an ideal civilisation; to make the world a safer place for a particular doctrine, war is justified as an agent of history. Thus, revolutionary warfare has been justified as a *modus operandi* for extermination of one's opponents: the Papal inquisition sought to 're-educate' Southern France, and similarly, the mass terror conducted under the auspices of the Jacobins, the Nazis, and the Communists sought a similar type of normative re-education through slaughter, collective liquidation and mass coercion (Wight, 1994, pp.225-226). Hence, the road to a 'golden future' might be strewn with the bodies of some 'counter-revolutionaries' obliterated on the journey to salvation. Thus, the revolutionists' 'idealised' view of human nature and man's perfectibility may have to be compromised somewhat on the way to salvation. Accordingly, the hard revolutionists would support the use of coercive means in order to eradicate evil⁵, just in case a dissenting opinion might be uttered from the crowd!

Kant's political opinions are also tinged with a dose of the hard revolutionists' short-term pessimism. Kant believes in the perfectibility of humankind, but his convictions are also tempered by an Hobbesian view of human nature,

"Given the depravity of human nature, which is revealed and can be glimpsed in the free relations among nations (though deeply concealed by governmental restraints in law governed civil-society), one must wonder why the word *right* has not been completely discarded from the politics of war as pedantic, or why no nation has openly ventured that it should be...The homage that every nation pays (at least in words) to the concept of right proves, nonetheless, that there is in man a still greater, though presently dormant, moral aptitude to master the evil principle in himself..." (Kant, 1795, p.116).

Kant's writings counterpoise an idealised picture of man with an image of an egregious human character. In order that security may be accorded to each person a civil constitution is a required; this applies to individual as well as collective persons. A 'just' constitution must be one which provides for: the civil rights of men within a nation (*ius civitas*), the rights of nations relating to one another, or the rights of world citizenship (*ius cosmopoliticum*) (Kant, 1795, p.112, note 1).

⁵ For a revolutionist evil could be defined as any political resistance arising from any other source, individual or collective, that opposes the universal moral principles of the revolutionary group in question.

According to Kant, in order to contain aggression between states, three aspects of world society must be satisfied: all states must have republican constitutions, the laws of nations will frame a federation of free states, and universal hospitality must be extended to all aliens when they arrive in another country (Kant, 1795, pp.112-117). Thus, a universal normative structure, based on secular principles, is imagined by Kant, yet, it is not clear whether Kant would have these principles forced upon states and individuals in the same way as Wight's hard revolutionists. One might suspect that Kant's normative system for a world society might include political coercion, considering that his political philosophy, as indicated above, contained both pessimistic and optimistic impressions of human nature.

In Kant's ideal world the nation-state is maintained, but a universally accepted code of morality would be adopted as a contract among nations (Kant, 1795, p.116). Kant's world conscience, in the form of a league of peace (*foedus pacificum*) was different from a treaty of peace (*pactum pacis*) because its aim would be to end all wars rather than any particular ones. Kant makes the point that this institution for peace would not require contractual powers as possessed by nation-states over their citizens (Kant, 1795, p.117). Yet, it would seem that the participation in a federated system might compel states to conform to the standardised rules. How stringent the 'conscience' of mankind would be in ensuring peace and conformity is not made clear in Kant's work.

In summary, Wight's Revolutionists, both 'soft' and 'hard', coincide in one major respect: the route to benevolent behaviour and universal fraternity between states must include the acceptance of a common moral code. However, what the code will be, and how its mandate will be guaranteed is open to debate. On the one hand, the extreme-hard revolutionists, like Lenin, feel that 'non-believers' must be dealt with severely; the '*civitas maxima*' must be created if necessary by brute force (Wight, 1994, p.47). In this sense, according to scholars such as Hedley Bull, the political projects of the revolutionists were ill-fated because "they aim at uniting and integrating the family of nations but in practice divide it more deeply than it was divided before" (Bull, 1994, p.xvi).

On the other hand, the soft Revolutionists such as Kant and Woodrow Wilson have more faith in the 'rational' institutions of international society to enforce the peace. These two political theorists believed that the political institutions of domestic society could be reproduced at the state level of interaction. Wilson's dream of a League of Nations, which would include economic and military pressure to deal with law-breakers in international society, seemed to be the fulfilment of the Kantian dream: Wilson's fourteen points outlined the conditions for this new world to come true. According to Wilson, it was inevitable that his plan should be

acceptable to large and small nations alike, because it would benefit all equally by preventing the recurrence of a world war (Wilson, 1918, pp.553-54). The realisation of this dream would require, however, that states accept a “certain limitation upon their freedom of action” (Wilson, 1918, p.554). In the event, Wilson’s own nation, i.e. America, was not prepared to renounce its autonomy to any significant degree, and as a result refused to join up. Furthermore, the Wilson vision seemed, at least to some observers such as E.H.Carr, to be “essentially utopian” (Carr, 1983, p.27).

1.1.3. The Rationalists, The Grotian Tradition:

This school, while valuing the concept of international anarchy, holds an opinion of human nature neither quite as pessimistic as the Realists, nor as sanguine as the Kantians about the prospects for an ideal future for mankind. Thinkers such as Hugo Grotius and John Locke contend that while man can be belligerent, he is also capable of ‘rational’, i.e. reasonable, behaviour. Therefore, the Grotian school represents an intermediary position between the views of the Revolutionists and Realists: according to Wight, rationalism is a broad plateau betwixt the incline leading to the precipices of revolutionism and the descent to the dark realm of realism (Wight, 1994, pp.13-14). Rationalism, it would seem, tries to strike a balance between the contrasting views of the Revolutionists and Realists. Wight proposes that the political philosophy of Hume, Carr, Wilson, Morgenthau, and Kant, for example, overlaps with this tradition (Wight, 1994, pp.15, 265-67).

John Locke’s rationalism, for example, assumes that states, even though they live together without a common superior in a state of nature, are capable of living together through the forces of reason (Locke, 1924, p.126). The fundamental laws of nature dictate that man preserves himself and ‘innocent’ members of society as far as possible; the agency of force and punishment is to be used against those whose social enmity results in violence against societies’ reasonable precepts (Locke, 1924, p.125). Therefore, while man seeks self-satisfaction, this is not inconsistent with sociability (Wight, 1986, p.123).

In the actions of states this sociable tendency manifests itself in the fact that even the most powerful sovereigns seek to forge alliances, and these bridges between states are shaped under the auspices of a universally codified system of law. According to Hugo Grotius, the principles of law cannot be disregarded by a society consisting of all members of mankind, or a number of nations (Grotius, 1922 p.34). Favouring such legal relations between men and nations is the fact that man is not merely a self-serving being: he is an extraordinary creature whose nature thrives, above all other creatures, on his “social faculty”. (Grotius, 1922, p.31). Furthermore, human beings are capable in their relations of securing justice i.e. a respect of the

interests of others in society as represented by legal institutions (Suganami, 1990, p.223; Grotius, 1922, p.34). Grotius postulated that this was so because,

“...one of the most striking of these faculties is man’s desire for society, that is, for a life, peaceable and not spent anyhow, of association with those of his own kind, ordered in manner appropriate to his intelligence-a desire termed by the Stoics the domestic instinct (Grotius, 1922, p.31).”

Besides, from a Grotian perspective states’ interests *vis-à-vis* the law can be compared to the condition of man in domestic society (Suganami, 1990, p.223). States, like citizens of the state, obey the law because it brings social advantages to them and no society, least of all one composed of a group of nations, can survive without law (Grotius, *Prôlegomena* 23, p.34). States which do not heed the ‘laws of nature and of nations’ will be risking their own future security and well-being (Grotius, *Prôlegomena* 18, p.33).

Therefore, in Wight’s Grotian school of thought there is no absolute separation between an Hobbesian state of nature and a socialised state of affairs. The Grotian pre-contractual state of nature was not asocial: Grotians postulate that the state of nature contains an element of common discourse that allows for a nascent society to develop, albeit an unstable one (Wight, 1994, p.38). Thus, Rationalists see a world where the distinction between an all out chaotic state of affairs and a socialised state of harmony becomes blurred.

Theorists such as Hedley Bull, who to some degree endorse the Grotian view of international relations, value the route of intercourse, as embodied in international institutions such as diplomacy, international law, the balance of power, and the concert of great powers (Bull, 1994, p.xii.). It is a notion of an international society which describes an actual social association, even if it is weak in the area of formal institutions to direct conduct. The Covenant of the League or the United Nations Charter may not be binding social contracts in a Lockean sense in that they do not constitute a super-state, but these treaties do represent an agreement by sovereign states to restrict the exercise of their legal sovereignty, i.e. autonomy (Wight, 1994, pp.39-40).

In summary, the world envisaged by the Rationalists is one of ‘enlightened selfishness’. Their perception of national interest, in contrast to the ‘traditional’ Realists, is that one state’s interests need not infringe on the self-interest of other actors, and instead, must give way to the interests of other states or persons (Wight, 1994, p.120). Therefore, states must check their selfish claims. In an anarchical society the ‘national egoism’, a type of behaviour which is licensed by the hard-core realist view of human nature, is attenuated by consent of the sovereign states themselves, in the interests of the collectivity of states. The Grotian international society is characterised by a condition of anarchy to the extent to which anarchy is

envisaged in terms of no over-arching legislature, but it does not completely match a definition of anarchy which is characterised by Hobbesian chaos. For Rationalists, such as Hedley Bull, the constitutional nature of international society is one in which 'some degree of order, ' exists despite the absence of government, thus forming an anarchical society (Bull, 1977, pp.50-51). He implies that ordered anarchy, i.e. limited disorder, is the state of affairs in international society.

Hence, human nature for a Grotian is marked by contradictions. The sociability of man mitigates self-interest. This school of thought neither assumes the moral high ground, nor dismisses human character as flawed and hopeless. The behaviour of humans grouped together into state collectives is guided, as is man in domestic society, by codes of ethic and in essence they are bound by 'moral and legal restraints' (Bull, 1994, p.xii).

1.1.4. Human Nature and the Confluence of Traditions:

Wight's *Three Traditions* present three different snapshots of human nature and inter-state conduct. They were intended as pigeon-holes, as mental maps with which to evaluate the world of political behaviour. These sketches of state actions were not meant to be mutually exclusive; they were not to be perceived as 'railway tracks' that never meet. Rather, they were intended to influence and criss-cross with one another; this phenomenon of intersection between categories, Wight calls the 'erosion of Rationalism' (Wight, 1994, p.260).

Thus, Wight's triad of the three Rs was not formed out of discretely bound theoretical entities. Instead, the behaviour of homo-politicus was, in the end, more likely a composite of these three images because the traditions had areas of theoretical overlap (Wight, 1994, p.265).

For example, even a reputed realist, such as E.H. Carr, seem to merge at times into a rationalist discourse. Immediately after declaring that there are no ideals in international relations, because even the institutions between states represent selfish interests (Carr, 1983, p.94), he launches into a debate about the relationship between power and morality. Man's nature is contradictory, "sometimes he displays egoism, or the will to assert himself at the expense of others, " while, "at other times he displays sociability, or the desire to co-operate with others, to enter into reciprocal relations of good-will and friendship with them, and even to subordinate himself to them". (Carr, 1983.p.95) In other words, according to Carr's analysis, there can be no notion of society without a baseline of sociability in man's makeup. As a result, the boundaries of realism and rationalism start to look blurred in Carr's analysis.

As mentioned earlier, even staunch realists such as Morgenthau, betray elements of a rationalist discourse buried amongst their pessimistic political 'science'. Part of Morgenthau's

objective structure of international politics allows for moral principles to filter through to the individual state level at specific (unspecified) times and places. In addition, Morgenthau's brand of 'realism' admits that a tension exists between morals and international politics (Morgenthau, 1985, pp.12-13). Furthermore, his apparent advocacy of a world state as the ultimate solution to world peace would seem to place him within the Kantian school of thought (Morgenthau, 1985, pp.525-541). Although Morgenthau accepts that the conditions for a world state do not presently exist, he does profess that a universal moral order to underpin such a state is necessary in order to secure permanent world peace (1985, p.537). This aspect of Morgenthau's thinking is surely revolutionary, at least in the context of Wight's taxonomy.

Also, as explained above, Kant showed symptoms of being a Rationalist. In *Perpetual Peace* he stops short of advocating a revolutionary tide towards a universal state. Kant's rationalist pragmatism means that the principle of universal right dictates that the world community is made up of many distinct, autonomous, and geographically contiguous nations (Kant, 1795, p.124). A federative union of pre-existing independent states is preferable to some sort of universal monarchy, which would surely evolve into a despotic monarchy, and finally disintegrate into anarchy (Kant, 1795, p.125). In the world imagined by Kant nations are organised through a union of rational beings who need not necessarily be a 'nation of *angels*'. According to Kant's thesis, this task does not require the moral improvement of man: instead, his theory of perpetual peace requires that men as rational actors compel each other to yield to societies' edicts, as embodied in the form of a 'good' constitution i.e. a republican constitution, in order to forge a state of peace (Kant, 1795, p.124). Kant dreamt of unseen futures, yet his aspirations would seem to have been more modest than some of Wight's other Revolutionists.

In theory, a case, perhaps, could be made for any permutation or combination of the Wight's *Three Traditions*, but pursuing this line of thinking would not be useful for the purposes of this paper. The main reason for mentioning Wight's confluence of traditions is to demonstrate that the contrasting paradigms of the Grotians, the Machiavellians, and the Kantians expresses a dialectical tension between an asocial and perfectible view of human psychology. If the *Three Traditions* overlap are they of much value in themselves? Alternatively, is it possible to combine the three into a dialectical schema of human nature which provides a model that could be used as a trans-cultural, trans-historical map of political behaviour? The next section pursues these questions with the help of Freud's topology of the human psyche.

1.2.0. Wight's 'Triad' from a Freudian Perspective:

A Freudian analysis of Wight's taxonomy could serve as a step towards constructing a general psychological theory of human nature out of Wight's paradigms. Freud's 'id-ego-superego' map offers, it will be argued, a way of linking his models to earlier views of both human nature and the behaviour of states. Whereas Wight's work was mainly confined to a European context, Freud's structural theory of human psychology assumes a generalised view of social behaviour and human psychology. In addition, Freud's model would seem to be the type of general socio-anthropological theory to which Wight alludes in the opening quotation of this chapter: as will be explained in Chapter Two, Freud thought that his 'id-ego-superego' paradigm could be used to analyse man's political and anthropological history⁶.

Wight's tripartite system of international politics, with each school taking a distinct view of man's nature, is reminiscent of Freud's work in mapping out a structure of the human psyche, as proposed in *The Ego and the Id* (Freud, 1962). Freud suggests a three component account of the human psyche consisting of: the 'id' which represented the instinctual aspects of human actions including aggression; the 'ego'-an agency which monitors and maintains reality orientation, and the 'super-ego'-the moralistic and critical side of human behaviour (Strachey, 1985, p.21).

Many of the confusions about psychoanalytic topography have arisen because the 'id-ego-superego' is incorrectly perceived to be a physical structure. In Freudian analysis these abstract terms are meant to represent forms of psychological regulation that, in his view, underlie human behaviour (Wiggins et al., 1971, p.471). Moreover, as Lasswell notes, the 'id-ego-superego' are not meant to be completely separate entities,

"The terms id, superego, and ego are roughly equivalent to impulse, conscience, and reason...The three main personality structures are not to be thought of as rigidly separated from one another; the superego and the ego are not categorically cut off from the impulses of the id...The id and superego aspects of reaction go on without conscious awareness on the part of the person" (Lasswell, 1935, p.63).

Therefore, the 'id-ego-superego' model is best thought of as a psychological continuum, with the moralising superego acting as counterbalance to the id impulses, and the ego holding the balance between these two extremes.

⁶ Besides, Fisher and Greenberg, in their book *The Scientific Credibility of Freud's Theories and Therapy* (1977, p.11), observe that Freud 'sought verification' of his theoretical models, not only by referring to psychiatric findings, but also, in other cultural contexts, by reviewing the anthropological literature.

Furthermore, to construct his proposed topography of the human psyche Freud relied on observations gleaned from his clinical practice. Thus, Freud's methodology attempted to link the domain of his theoretical models to the real life behaviour of his patients. In this sense Freud presents us with a paradigm of individual behaviour, which he claims to be supported by clinical psychoanalytic data (Roazen, 1968, pp.6-8). Freud's system is a "logical continuation of the rationalistic tradition: to understand natural phenomena, including those of the mind, on the basis of scientific principles" (Alexander, 1960, p.50).

1.2.1. The Three Rs and the Id-Ego-Superego Topology:

This section will try to demonstrate how Freud's three part structure of the human psyche can be compared to Wight's tripartite system.

Freud's concept of the 'id' would seem to resemble many of the postulates of the pessimistic realists essayed by Wight. This aspect of man's psyche encapsulates man's socio-biological capability to dominate (Morgenthau, 1985, p.39) by brute force through the exercise of aggressive drives. Similarly, the 'id' describes the tendency for man to satisfy his selfish needs "without regard to the realities of life or to morals of any kind" (Morgan et al, 1971, p.387). A world dominated by the behaviour described by the 'id' would replicate the chaotic state of nature imagined by Hobbes: the 'id' is envisaged as the 'chaotic' (Badcock, 1994, p.93) dimension of man's psychology i.e. it is devoid of regard for social consensus, seeking only to satisfy ambitions whatever the means. Thus, where there is an excess of this dimension, in an individual's personality structure, 'egoistic' satisfaction would be sought at whatever the cost to other members of his immediate environment. The realities of a world dominated by this aspect of the Freudian dialectic would be power-driven and dark, a condition which resembles the world described by Machiavelli and Hobbes. The will to dominate, even at the expense of others, in order that an individual can gain gratification of his personal needs and pleasures is an over-riding function of the 'id'. In summary, the irrational, i.e. anti-social, aspects of human behaviour are described by the 'id.'

Freud's depiction of the 'ego' would appear to coincide with the theoretical viewpoint of the Rationalists in political philosophy. As an aspect of human personality the ego functions to maintain, through careful assessment and monitoring of the individual's internal and external environment, a secure and rational, i.e. reasonable, course for the individual (Schwartz et al, 1974, p.491). The 'ego' is a kind of executive which acts as mediator or balancer between the 'id', perceptions from the outside world, and the 'superego' (Schwartz et al, 1974, p.491): in this model the aggressive motives represented by the 'id' are neutralised by the moralising principles of the 'superego'. At the same time, the 'ego' is placed in a dialectical position

similar to that depicted in Wight's rationalist school of politics, where the sociable, moralising aspects of man are juxtaposed against the egocentric, i.e. self-centred, aggressive and anti-social dimensions of man. In threatening situations the 'ego' reacts with anxiety, which can lead to threats of aggression, while in more congenial circumstances the 'ego' militates against violence and a sociable law-abiding behaviour is followed.

If the Rationalists walk a tightrope between an overtly hostile interpretation of human nature, and a perfectible, sociable one, the Freudian concept of the 'ego' describes a similar view of human behaviour. Also, the 'ego' describes the rational aspect of the human psyche which, analogous to Rationalist thought, acts in the individual's enlightened self-interest, for example to protect the individual's security and safety.

If one were to analyse man's social adaptation by using only the 'superego' concept, one would imagine that humanity is composed of benevolent, peace-loving, and co-operative individuals and groups. The 'superego' describes an idealised view of how man does and ought to act, somewhat along the lines of Wight's Kantian paradigm. The 'superego' could be described as the internalised conscience: it is, in other words, the moralising element. Moreover, psychoanalytic theory subdivides the 'superego' conscience into two parts: the punitive and the 'ego-ideal' aspects (Schwartz, 1974, p.492). The punitive aspect of the 'superego' is believed to develop out of norms within society which prohibit, and provide for punishment of, certain actions which run counter to these social norms. According to Freud, this aspect of the 'superego' develops as a result of punishment or the threat of external coercion,

"It is in keeping with the course of human development that external coercion gradually becomes internalized; for a special mental agency, man's super-ego takes it over and includes it among its commandments...This is also true of what are known as the *moral* demands of civilization, which likewise apply to everyone" (Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, 1985c, pp.190-191).

In contrast, the 'ego-ideal' aspect of the 'superego' conscience represents norms, values, or external objects which command the individual's respect and are approved of by one's rôle models or peers: the identification, emotional attachment, and respect for these social institutions results in the socialisation of the individual into social groupings (Schwartz, 1974, p.492; Freud, 1985b, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, pp.147, 161). In other words, the concept of legal guilt, whereby society threatens to punish individuals for infraction of its rules, i.e. an external group conscience, evolves into an internalised conscience by which an individual censors behaviour that contravenes the expectations of society. Freud summarises this process of socialisation as follows:

“A strengthening of the super-ego is a most precious cultural asset in the psychological field. Those in whom it takes place are turned from being opponents of civilization into being its vehicles” (Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, 1985c, p.190).

Therefore, the evolution of the ‘superego’ facilitates social cohesion.

The ‘superego’ aspect of Freud’s theory would seem to correspond to Wight’s Kantian school of thought. Significantly, both Kant and Freud discuss the prospect of developing a national or state conscience. Similarly, for both Kant and Freud actions by an individual or collective actor that contrast with this normative structure are met at least with censure, and often with violence, although Kant does not clearly spell out the limits of coercion. However, both thinkers supposed that man and even collective man, i.e. states, could be socialised into conformity with group norms. For example, in Freud’s *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death* (1985), he discusses the prospects for nurturing of a collective national conscience,

“It should not be objected that the state cannot refrain from wrong-doing, since that would place it at a disadvantage. It is no less disadvantageous, as a general rule, for the individual man to conform to the standards of morality and refrain from brutal and arbitrary conduct...Nor should it be a matter for surprise that this relaxation of all the moral ties between the collective individuals of mankind [sic states] should have had repercussions on the morality of individuals; for our conscience is not the inflexible judge that ethical teachers declare it...” (Freud, *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, 1985d, p.66).

Moreover, by suggesting that his psychological ideas should be abstracted to collective ‘persons’ such as states, Freud is merely developing the individual-collective analogy that is so marked, if somewhat understated in Wight’s thesis, and implicit in many of political philosophical works cited above (e.g. Hobbes, Kant, Morgenthau).

1.2.2. The Confluence of Traditions Reconsidered:

According to Martin Wight his three traditions are an overlapping continuum: it will be demonstrated in this section that the ‘id-ego-superego’ map can be correlated with Wight’s model to formulate a psychological model of international politics.

In order to demonstrate the confluence of traditions, in more detail, Wight has further subdivided each of his three traditions into two compartments (Wight, 1994, pp.158-162). The interrelation of these six categories are represented in a circular diagram (see figure one). The three traditions overlap with each other. For example, the Grotians are classified into realist and idealist thinkers. The middle ‘rationalist’ doctrine exemplifies the dialectical tension between man’s self-centredness and his social nature. Realist Grotians agree with the Machiavellians in accepting the ‘facts of politics’: the Machiavellian ‘facts’ are dominated by the idea that the state has its origin in the badness, i.e. selfishness, of men. Morgenthau’s ideas overlap with the rationalist school, as was noted above, and Wight classifies him as a Realist Grotian, but in

other areas of his text he includes Morgenthau wholly with the realists. Idealist Grotians (e.g. Nehru) are more sanguine and are more inclined to value, like the Kantians, the pursuit of ideas (e.g. legal institutions) as a pathway to socialise man.

The Kantians are separated into evolutionary and revolutionary patterns of thought. On the one hand, revolutionary-realist-Kantians such as Lenin believe that coercion, i.e. force, might be required to “encourage or coerce the minority, or impure, into conformity” (Wight, 1994, p.47). In this respect, the ideas of Wight’s hard Revolutionists overlap with the extreme Machiavellian school; they believe in the value of violence to “*restrain* men, whether from their greed, violence, or folly” (Wight, 1994, pp.47, 161). On the other hand, evolutionary-idealistic-Kantians, for example Woodrow Wilson, tend to believe in the capability of ideas to make men co-operate without relying on the forces of coercion; the brotherhood of man will evolve through ‘yearning and talk’ without resorting to violent tactics (Wight, 1994, pp.46-48). Yet, ultimately, all of the Revolutionists believe that man’s nature is ultimately perfectible.

The Machiavellians believe that man’s nature is basically anti-social and self-centred: men’s passions are most important in politics, not ideals. Wight divides the Realists into aggressive and defensive categories, although he does not explicitly make the distinction between these two groupings (Wight, 1994, pp.144-145). It would seem that the aggressive Machiavellians, like Hitler and Mussolini, seek political self-sufficiency and follow a policy of divide and rule through violent and confrontational means, if necessary. The defensive Realists (e.g. De Gaulle) believe men guide politics and that ideas are only useful to men as munitions; like the hard-line Realists, defensive realists assume that politics represent a clash of political wills and interests, but presumably, and Wight does not make this point clear, they are less willing to sanction aggression for the sole purpose of territorial expansion (Wight, 1994, p.159).

Figure One summarises Wight’s observations, and also tries to equate his system with Freud’s ‘id-ego-superego’ paradigm. The components of Freud’s structural system, as outlined in his manuscript *The Ego and the Id* (1962, pp.9-29), are also meant to overlap. The blending of one tradition into another is represented by Wight’s circular schema; the same method is used to depict Freud’s theory.

Confluence of Wight's 'Three Traditions'

The 'id-ego-superego' Model compared with the 'Three Traditions'

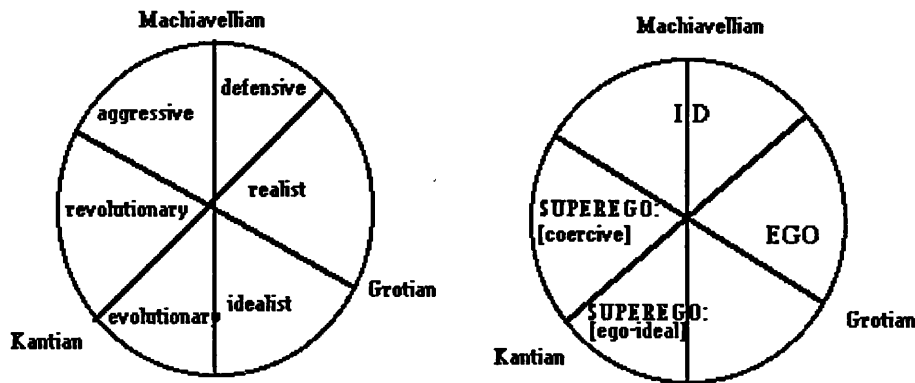


Figure One: Wight's 'confluence' of 'Three Traditions' compared with the 'id-ego-superego' model of human psychology

Figure One

The confluence of Rationalism and Revolutionism would seem to describe the balance between the moralising aspects of the 'superego' and the 'reality' dominated ego, while the inter-fusion of Realism and Rationalism seems to mirror the 'id-ego' axis of the Freudian paradigm. Furthermore, Wight's aggressive realist conforms to the extreme anti-social elements of the 'id'. Proceeding around the circle, the defensive realists and realist Grotians mix elements of pessimism with elements of sociability, which characterises rationalist thinking. These theorists take a view of human psychology which is situated somewhere along the axis between the 'id' and the 'ego.'

Likewise, the optimists who believe that man's nature is perfectible, are represented by the 'idealist' Grotians, and the evolutionary and revolutionary Kantians. For these pundits social conditioning, and ideas, are capable of socialising man, and collective man.

In Figure One the evolutionary and revolutionary Kantians are directly equated with the 'ego-ideal' and coercive aspects of the 'superego' conscience, respectively. The evolutionary Kantians believe in a certain type of socialisation without violence; the idealistic Grotians, also share some of their optimistic beliefs. In this respect they resemble Freud's description of the evolution of the 'ego-ideal' which, to recapitulate, describes a process of socialisation whereby man is inclined to co-operate because of his magnanimous and benevolent character. Social co-operation and generosity can be nurtured by respect and compassion towards a group leader, a normative system, or a religious doctrine, for example. According to concept of the 'ego-ideal' external authority figures command man's respect, and social co-operation manifests itself

without threats of coercion or punishment (Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1959b, p.61). Likewise, the evolutionary, idealistic, Kantians, and to a certain extent the 'idealistic' Grotians, believe that co-operation manifests itself in society without undue coercion, i.e. force and punishment. Thus, both the theory of the 'ego-ideal' and the philosophy of the idealistic Kantians assumes that a benevolent, non-violent, and perfectible component exists in man's psychological make-up.

However, for the hard Revolutionists, though the perfection of man might be the ultimate aim, the means are different. Like the coercive part of the 'superego, ' these pundits believe that change often involves violence, and the more extreme revolutionaries, like Lenin, explicitly sanction aggressive means. The psychological orientation of the hard Revolutionists would seem to fit Freud's description of the development of the punitive aspect of the 'superego' through exposure to external coercive forces in society. This process describes social co-operation that evolves in response to the threat of coercion or actual punishment from an external agent of authority (Freud, 1985a, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, pp.329-334). Both, the extreme coercive 'superego, ' and the extreme Kantian school assume that man's nature can be moulded, but the means to gain social co-operation may have to be quite harsh.

Also, the Revolutionary Kantians' assumptions about man's nature can be contrasted with the evolutionary Kantians. It would seem that those theorists who advocate extreme levels of coercion to reach an ideal future, are at the same time assuming an intrinsic anti-social aspect in human psychology. In other words, the extreme Kantians who advocate unrestrained levels of violence to achieve their objectives reflect a basic pessimism about man's potential to be socialised. This is represented in Wight's diagram: extreme Kantians and extreme realists merge into each other. Thus, a belief that man's nature can be changed, no matter how harsh the means might have to be, leads full circle back to the pessimistic views of the hard-core realists.

Furthermore, theorists, like Hobbes, or leaders, like Hitler, who condone unlimited coercion in order to alter man's nature would seem to assume a low opinion of human nature; these thinkers feel that man must be restrained so as to maintain political order. Evan Luard makes a similar observation with respect to the ancient Chinese and ancient Greek viewpoint on the relations between states,

"In both places those who held a low view of human nature tended to favour an authoritarian system of government...Those who had a more favourable opinion of human nature...were against harsh measures of government..." (Luard, 1992, pp.18-19).

Therefore, as outlined in Figure One, for both theories of political philosophy and Freud's paradigm, the belief that maximum coercion is necessary to force men to co-operate reflects,

implicitly, a pessimistic belief in an aggressive, chaotic, anti-social, facet of human psychology would seem to equate with Freud's concept of the 'id'.

Thus, as has been noted above, each of Wight's *Three Traditions* corresponds to a place on Freud's map. Yet, Wight's categories arise from his understanding of European political philosophy. By contrast, Freud's system is meant to represent a more generalised socio-psychological statement about human nature. The next section will draw parallels between European and non-Western traditions, and by so doing try to extend Freud's map of 'human nature' across cultural boundaries.

1.3.0. Non-Western Traditions and Human Nature:

The theorists cited by Wight are mainly European. His *Three Traditions* were intended to describe the "threads interwoven in the tapestry of Western civilization" (Wight, 1994, p.260). Yet, the triad identified in Wight's manuscript would also seem to have been essayed in non-Western literature, about which, Bull asserts, Wight was hardly aware. For example, the Chinese had a similar debate which involved the conflicting paradigms of Confucianism, Taoism, and the School of Law (Bull, 1994, p.xxii). However, Bull's critique might not be entirely accurate. Wight's observations, in his book *Systems of States* (1977, p.39) suggests that he was aware that such a comparison could be made:

"Can a comparison be made with the warring schools of thought in ancient China, which arose during the Period of Warring States? The School of Law, the Legalists, are commonly compared to Machiavelli; Arthur Waley describes them under the name 'Realists'...'Like the Confucians' says Waley, and one may add Grotius, 'Mo Tzu believed in the Righteous War, in which a good King, at the command of Heaven, punishes a bad one.'...What seems most difficult to find in China is the counterpart to the messianic and missionary strand in European thought. The nearest is provided by the Taoists, who were...anarchist and pacifist in their outlook, looked back to a golden age, dreamed of an ideal state, and asserted the harmony of interests" (Wight, 1977, p.39).

In addition, Evan Luard identifies similarities between Plato's political assumptions and the realism of the Chinese Legalists, and between Aristotle's views⁷ and the rationalism of Mencius (Luard, 1992, pp.18-19). Moreover, although neither Wight nor Luard have

⁷ On this matter, however, there seems to be a contradiction between Luard and Wight's analysis. Although, Luard does not classify Aristotle as a realist, Wight includes him, along with Plato, within the realist school of thought (Wight, 1991, p.51).

identified a cosmopolitan strand in Greek philosophy it did exist. Epictetus, a Greek Stoic philosopher⁸ was a cosmopolitan who supported the idea of a brotherhood of man,

“Epictetus’ endorsement of cosmopolitanism is as follows: “you are a world citizen,” he says...Why he adds ironically, does one say, “I am an Athenian” rather than mentioning the bit of earth on which was born? (Xenakis, 1969, p.122).

Besides, Epictetus emphasised the equality of all humanity, and, he also professed that this “principle of siblinghood encompasses relations with slaves: “the slave” too is “our brother” (Xenakis, 1969.p.121). To make the world a better place, according to Epictetus’ philosophy, humanity needed ‘ethical trouble-shooters’, who are referred to in Xenakis’ manuscript *Epictetus: Philosopher Therapist*, as ‘philosopher Scouts’, who “cannot marry...because the Scout cannot be partial to any segment of mankind, but must regard all humans as his “children”” (Xenakis, 1969, p.121). Therefore, it seems that Wight’s three strands of political philosophy existed in the Greek tradition as well.

The following two sections will expand on this transcultural theme, with special reference to Ancient Chinese and Ancient Indian political philosophy. In both cases a trifurcation of thought is present which seems to correspond to Wight’s taxonomy. Moreover, it is argued, that by using Freud’s above-mentioned system of human psychology, the three traditions can be amalgamated into a psychological map describing the political demeanour of man and collective man, i.e. states. In other words, Freud’s psychological system provides a universal view of human nature by which these philosophical schools might be linked across cultures, i.e. different civilisations, and historical epochs.

1.3.1. Ancient Chinese Thought

Wight’s triad can be found in Ancient Chinese political philosophy as indicated in Waley’s work, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939). Here the Legalists, Confucianists and Taoists/Mohists would seem to correspond to Wight’s Realists, Rationalists and Revolutionists, respectively. Wight concurs with this taxonomy, however he includes the Mohists under the Taoist category, rather than as a separate school in the idealist tradition (1994, pp.66-67).

The ‘Legalists’ can be compared to the Realists in that they both believed that men were “naturally bad and, if unrestrained, were likely to seek only their own ends in conflict with one another”(Luard, 1992, p.5). The ‘School of Law’ might more appropriately be referred to as

⁸ Epictetus (c.a. C.E. [Common Era] 50-125), a less well known Greek philosopher, was the son of a slave mother, and was emancipated probably at the time of his master’s death (Xenakis, 1969, p.1).

‘the Amoralists’, according to Waley, because this group of thinkers did not see any place for morality in relations between men (1939, p.199). This position coincides with their cynical impressions of men as self-serving beings. Since men cannot be trusted, what is good for the state is whatever the ruler wishes i.e. a totalitarian form of government (Wight, 1994, p.67).

Such pessimism about man’s basic nature is epitomised in the writings of the ‘Chinese Machiavellians’, Shang Tzu and Han Fei Tzu. For Shang Tzu it was apparent that force was necessary to obtain obedience, whereas moral principles could not be relied upon (Waley, 1939, p.121). Likewise, making an analogy between the family and the state, Han Fei-Tzu notes that only the exercise of strength by a father, or a state leader, can bring order; resorting to benevolence will not bring the desired effect i.e. obedience (Han Fei-Tzu, 1964, p.101-102). Thus, according to Han Fei-Tzu, man is assumed, by nature, to be self-serving. In this regard, Han Fei-Tzu accepted Ts’ang Chieh’s analysis which differentiates the private individual from the public interest: Ts’ang Chieh’s notion of ‘private’ is synonymous with the idea of self-centredness (1964, p.106). Accordingly, Han Fei-Tzu believed that the state, which represents the public interest, must not treat the private citizen leniently or certain disorder would ensue (Han Fei-Tzu, 1964, p.107).

The Legalists’ analysis of the ‘nature’ of state interactions corresponds with their critique of individual behaviour. The Legalists believed that the natural predisposition of the state “is to maintain and expand its frontiers” (Waley, 1939, p.217). Similarly, it is a natural aim of states to dominate other states, and a country that concentrates on these ends “would not have to wait long before it established hegemony or even complete mastery over all other States” (Waley, 1939, p.219). Power is conceived as the capacity, i.e. a monopoly over the use of force, that ‘naturally’ accrues to leaders and allows them to harm or frighten another group of people (Waley, 1939, p.238). Shang Tzu’s pessimistic view of mankind produced a more amoral philosophy than Han Fei-Tzu’s (Waley, 1939, p.227). Shang Tzu proposed that successful states must display their might over weaker ones, and furthermore, it is a matter of shame for a successful state not to be engaged in war (Waley 1939, pp.220-221).

The writings of Han Fei-Tzu and Shang Tzu combine a description of man’s nature, along with prescriptions to rulers, and in this sense their work resembles *The Prince* by Machiavelli. However, in a similar way that Wight’s realists overlap with other traditions, Waley (1939, p.203) notes that Han Fei-Tzu’s work overlaps with the moralist positions of the Taoists. Yet, for the most part, the recommendations made by the Chinese Realists reveal, in the same way as Machiavelli’s work, a certain orientation to man’s basic nature. The School of Law would seem to see the world in stark Hobbesian terms: men follow their self-centred

passions and thus require a powerful hand to control them, and thereby avoiding social chaos. The actions of men and the state reflect a certain political will to dominate others, and this natural tendency legitimises the use of force to achieve one's ambitions, no matter how unscrupulous the means to achieve these ends might be. Shang Tzu's pessimism goes as far as to recommend that in order to secure one's military power a leader should "do things that the enemy would be ashamed to do...to secure an advantage" (Waley, 1939, p.227). Therefore, it seems that Shang Tzu's philosophy would fit Wight's description of an aggressive realist.

Therefore, the Legalists assumed that human behaviour was fundamentally aggressive, anti-social, and devoid of moral commitment, and in this regard their ideas correspond to the 'id-ego' pivot. Besides, the Legalists sanctioned the use of force by man and states in order to achieve one's interests via the domination of others: this Hobbesian-like world resembles the 'id', which emphasises an anti-social strand in man's basic character.

An idealistic Chinese writer, Mo Tzu (1963, pp.59-60), represented the Mohist school. His ideas would seem to fit most closely with Wight's Kantians. Mo Tzu believed that by spreading universal 'good' leaders could gain a reputation for righteousness, which would have positive repercussions throughout the world. The principle of universal love would help to prevent great states attacking small ones in the world (Mo Tzu, 1963, pp.39, 49). Love spread between states, i.e. the generosity and kindness of a benevolent ruler, would be of mutual benefit and save the world from the scourge of war (Mo Tzu, 1963, p.49). According to Mo Tzu, the mark of a 'superior man' is that he subscribes to, and puts into practice, the principle of universality (Mo Tzu, 1963, p.49). Mo Tzu's model for universal love and mutual aid was the leadership of the four sage kings of antiquity. King Wen epitomised this ideal past: his love embraced the whole world⁹ without showing partiality (Mo Tzu, 1963, p.44).

Mo Tzu dreamed of an ideal future, based on a golden past, for all of mankind. He was an optimist who believed in man's ultimate perfectibility. Yet, like the hard Revolutionists (see above), Mo Tzu accepted that the path to 'universal love' may require the use of coercion. Accordingly, the Chinese philosopher Mencius made the following observation about the Mohists' political philosophy, "Universal love sounds well enough, though one is somewhat disconcerted to find that people are to be awed into it by punishments and fines" (Waley,

⁹ Of course the whole world refers to the world reflected through the eyes of the Chinese empire. In this respect the Chinese regarded their civilisation as the '*Chung Kuo*', the Central Land (Stern, 1995, p.48). Mo Tzu's perception of humanity reflects this China-centric perception. Yet, this way of viewing the world is consistent with other revolutionary schools which perceive their respective doctrine and notion of civilisation as central to man's future well-being.

p.164). Furthermore, the Mohist school believed, like the 'sage kings of [Chinese] antiquity', that rulers are justified to punish recalcitrant states that do not conform with the universal definition of virtue and universal love (Mo Tzu, 1963, p.58; Waley, 1939, p.164). However, Mo Tzu also believed that rulers who establish a reputation for righteousness and virtue will be able to do away with offensive warfare, which aims at forcibly annexing neighbouring territory and acquiring treasures such as gold and jewels (Mo Tzu, 1963, pp.58-60).

Mo Tzu's formulation to bring about all that is good in man seems to correspond to the rôle of the 'superego' in limiting self-serving behaviour and facilitating social co-operation and benevolent behaviour. On the one hand, Mo Tzu condemns war which serves to satisfy the individual greed of state rulers, while on the other hand, he sanctions war that serves to bring states into line with a moral code which he regards as universal. In this respect, as Wight's remarks (see above) reveal, Mo Tzu's approval of the punitive use of force, in the form of a 'just' war to punish errant states, overlaps with ideas of the realist Grotians, and also with the revolutionary Kantians. Therefore, Mo Tzu betrays revolutionist ideals tinged with practical rationalism i.e. his belief in human benevolence is mixed with a more pessimistic belief in man's potential for unsociable behaviour. Consequently, according to the schema outlined in Figure one, Mo Tzu's ideas about human nature would seem to correspond to 'ego-superego' axis.

The Taoists were also idealists. Wight felt that this group, more than any other tradition in Chinese philosophy, belongs in the messianic, revolutionary tradition (see above). The philosophy of Chuang Tzu (Waley, 1939, pp.17-112), who was a poet and wrote his ideas as imaginary dialogues (Waley, 1939, p.12), expresses the political views of the Taoists. Chuang Tzu dreamed of a golden age where there would be no books and the inhabitants would return to a 'simple life'. In this ideal State all citizens would be engaged in man's 'natural' occupation, agriculture, and in this primeval society a state of 'absolute harmony' would prevail (Waley, 1939, pp.98-99). Moreover, in this ideal society, there would be no need for a government, although in other passages he concedes that there would be a king. The Taoist's outlook of politics was based on a principle of 'quietism' which describes a distrust in governments, bordering almost on anarchy (Wight, 1994, p.67). In contrast to the ideas of Mo Tzu, the Taoists felt that the doctrines of the 'Sage Kings' were misguided, and that their laws made men stray from 'goodness'. The leadership of the Sages only served to embitter man's basically moral nature. Chuang Tzu's harmonious state would be led by a king who was able to forget his kingdom: the king could rest assured that "so long as he is 'wandering alone with Tao' [i.e. the Taoist doctrine] all will be 'peace, quietness, and security'" (Waley, 1939, pp.101-105).

The system of Tao, analogous to the religious and political ideologies of Wight's Revolutionary school, offers moral guidance for all members of society, which, hypothetically, ensures that harmonious relations abound. Taoism would seem to represent a messianic doctrine, which functions, from a Freudian perspective, like the ethical principles of society which help to shape the 'superego'. Chuang Tzu's faith in man and the peacefulness of the original state of nature makes the Taoists the most idealistic of the Chinese schools. Thus, this optimistic view of human nature most closely fits with the superego component of Freud's paradigm.

Corresponding to the Grotian vision of the world, which espouses 'good' governance, man's inherent sociability, and dialogue as the road to peace, Confucianism also focuses on the moral 'goodness' of mankind. According to the Confucianist philosopher, Mencius, war is unprofitable and should be prevented by encouraging benevolent governments; benevolence dictates that no man should seize territory forcibly or oppress a states' citizens. Virtue, i.e. honour, fairness, and 'goodness', will spread by example from the leader of the great families to the whole state, eventually encompassing the entire empire: this process evolves by small states emulating the benevolence of larger ones (Mencius, 1887, pp.98-99, 101). Furthermore, according to Mencius, a single state might be possessed by a more powerful one without 'virtuous' leadership, but, a king will find that it is impossible to control an empire consisting of many states by force alone (Mencius, 1887, p.193).

As with Grotius' philosophy, Confucianists believed that men and states were manifestly sociable. However, this did not mean that Confucianism did not recognise an anti-social component in man's nature. The Confucians believed in punishment of criminals, whether they were individuals or states. Mencius believed in the value of law, and "when and individual was accused of a crime, the state's legal system is responsible for determining whether the allegation is well-founded" (Waley, 1939, p.141). Likewise, an errant state should be punished, and this reasoning justified the principle of the Righteous War. Yet, unlike Grotius, Mencius made no mention of an inter-state court which could examine criminal charges against governments. For Waley the lack of such a court meant that the Righteous war became a moral cloak under which to cover acts of aggression (Waley, 1939, pp.141-142).

The Chinese writer Hsun Tzu, was an eclectic, acquiring some of his views from Confucius and his disciples, the Legalists, the Taoists (Luard, 1992, p.6): his composite philosophy seems to correspond to Wight's Grotians. Therefore, Hsun Tzu's writings, like the Confucians, reflects a middle theoretical ground (Luard, 1992, p.6). However, his perspective is somewhat more pessimistic than the Confucians, in that he did not subscribe to the idea of the

innate sociability of man (Luard, 1992, footnote 1, p.15). Thus, Hsun Tzu's political philosophy seems to fit Wight's realist-Grotian classification, while the Confucianists ideas match the idealist-Grotian category.

Hsun Tzu's writings, like the other Chinese writers outlined above, also discuss inter-state relations. Like the Confucianists, he believed that conquest alone is not sufficient to win the support of the citizens of a neighbouring state. Sharing some of the ideas of the Confucianists Hsun Tzu's philosophy insists that 'good' government, i.e. a government respected by its citizens as virtuous and fair, is required to bring out the best in a society; conquest alone might win over the territory physically, but the command will be weakened in the long-term where the occupied population does not feel any loyalty towards the conqueror (Hsun Tzu, 1963, p.76). Nevertheless, benevolent leadership is not the only key to maintain a strong state: analogous to the Legalists, Hsun Tzu insists that a government's decrees and punishments must be regarded with awe by the population of a state (Hsun Tzu, 1963, p.60). Therefore, Hsun Tzu accepted that force was required to underpin the moral fibre of a population. Furthermore, people of neighbouring states who respect the reputation of a strong state will "willingly obey your laws and commands" (Hsun Tzu, 1963, p.76). Therefore, Hsun Tzu's 'eclectic' writings would seem to correspond to both the Realist and Rationalist schools of thought.

In summary, Confucian political theory, as well as the eclectic teachings of Hsun Tzu, would seem to correspond to Wight's Rationalist school. In Freud's schema of human nature these philosophers' view of man's behaviour would seem to match the functions of the 'ego'. Man, and states, are capable of sociable behaviour, yet, at the same time anti-social aspects are equally part of his/its disposition. However, Hsun Tzu tends to emphasise the self-centred, i.e. 'egoistic', character of man more than his Confucian counterparts. Nevertheless, both Mencius and Hsun Tzu would seem to express a similar dialectical tension between morality and aggression, and consequently, their theoretical view of man's nature corresponds to the 'ego': the hypothetical 'ego' represents a balance between these diametrically opposed views of man's behaviour, i.e. the moral and ethical view of man versus man's self-satisfying and anti-social motives.

1.3.2. Ancient Indian Political Philosophy

Besides the symmetry between the Chinese and European traditions, a similar pattern of political thought exists in Ancient Hindu writings.

Realist ideas permeate many of the political writings of Ancient India. For example, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*¹⁰ represents the most extreme variety of Hindu realism (Prasad, 1927, p.93). The ancient Indian realists are similar to Wight's aggressive realists. The Kautilya, as well as the Mahabharata and Manu¹¹, schools of politics assumed a low view of human nature (Prasad, 1927, p.349). Accordingly, this view of man's character provided "a psychological reason which made government doubly important...there is only too much ignorance to be removed, too much wickedness to be repressed" (Prasad, 1927, p.349). The political writings of Manu, Kamandaka, and Kautilya all used the word '*matsyanyaya*' i.e. anarchy (Sen, 1926, pp.35, 47) to describe a pre-political state of nature which was characterised by a state of confusion and chaos. According to these writings, the consequence of political anarchy was that "men met with destruction, devouring one another like stronger fishes devouring the weaker ones in the water": as Sen observes in his book *Studies in Hindu Political Thought* this state of primeval chaos resembles Hobbes' state of nature (Sen, 1926, p.41). Corresponding with this dark perspective of man's nature, the functions of the Ancient Indian government, according to the Brahmanic theorists, also resembles Hobbes' thesis: since man is a naturally depraved being, chastisement is necessary because punishment alone can keep the world orderly (Prasad, 1927, pp.75-76). Consequently, governments must act as firm parents because if the rod of chastisement is laid aside the world would become undisciplined and disorderly (Prasad, 1927, pp.36-39). Thus, analogous to Hobbesian realism, the Hindu realists sanction coercion as a means of maintaining social order against man's anti-social tendencies. Coercion and punishment are such an integral part of Ancient Indian Realism that these social institutions are referred to as a science called *Dandaniti* (Prasad, 1927, pp.21, 344-45).

Corresponding to this pessimistic theory of politics, inter-state affairs are ruled by a policy of expediency: according to the ancient Indian Realists, foreign policy knows no moral bounds and the state represents a law unto itself (Prasad, 1927, pp.149, 363). For the Indian

¹⁰ Arthashastra can be defined as a two-fold science encompassing the subject areas of Politics and Economics (Sen, 1926, p.1).

¹¹ Prasad refers to this series of writings in the Hindu literature as Brahmanism. The Vedic literature represents the earliest existing documents in this tradition, and can be traced back to the second and third millennia B.C.E. [Before the Common Era] (Prasad, 1927, p.11). The Mahabharata epic, which is a synthesis of the works of many poets over several centuries, is one of the most complete documents of Hindu political thought; the work, in its present form, existed in the second century B.C.E. (Prasad, 1927, p.20). The Mahabharata refers to many different Arthashastras, but one of the most ancient extant documents (four hundred B.C.E.) is the one written by Kautilya, who was the chancellor of the first Mauryan emperor Chandragupta (Prasad, 1927, p.91). After the Mahabharata, the Manu represents one of the chief sources of Hindu governmental doctrine, and existed in its present version in the second century C.E. (Prasad, 1927, p.70)

Realist school, it was a fact that the principle of self-preservation was the highest law, and this warranted the use of any means: the law of nature dictated that strong men, like all other animals, prey upon the weak (Prasad, 1927, pp.55, 60). Prasad, in his book *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, observes that Kautilya's writings are quintessential Machiavellianism: states living side by side leads almost always to war in the amoral world of inter-state interaction (Prasad, 1927, p.149). Moreover, The Doctrine of Mandala, also known as the circle of states, resembles the European concept of balance of power:

“A king might represent to the neighbouring circle of states that a particular sovereign was growing too powerful, that he might destroy them all, and that all should, therefore, march against him” (Prasad, 1927, pp.145, 363).

In addition, inter-state relations and diplomacy, for the Ancient Indian realist did not have any sense of morality, and thus no genuine system of international law was possible (Prasad, 1927, pp.145, 362). In the 'id-ego-superego' model this school of thought would seem to belong along the 'id-ego' axis: human and state behaviour, analogous to Freud's theory of the 'id', is amoral, violent, and consequently survival is determined by the domination of the stronger over the weak.

The missionary state in ancient India is described in the Buddhist ideas on government. The Asokan edicts (circa. third century B.C.E.) professed that the 'beloved of the gods,' i.e. the ruler, should direct all of a state's resources so as to propagate Buddhism, piety, and morality. The Buddhist government is attributed with "dynamic missionary functions", and in Asoka's state, government 'censors' were to be appointed to supervise the administration of the Law and "the operation of justice". In order that this just, i.e. fair and equal, state would be established, the king must love his people in the same way that he loves himself, and as a result, the state he rules will assume a caring paternal rôle (Prasad, 1927, pp.202-203). Accordingly, the caste system was not regarded as just by Asvaghosa, and "caste is attacked on psychological grounds," because human beings are "in respect of joy and sorrow, love, insight, manners and ways, death, fear, and life all equal" (Prasad, 1927, pp.218-19). The same moral principles applied to inter-state relations: "the Buddha condemns the methods of military aggression wholesale" (Prasad, 1927, p.362).

The state of nature for the Buddhist school assumed that humanity started with a golden age where people were absolutely perfect; they were so perfect that all enjoyed peace, lived very long, and enjoyed a life of true bliss (Prasad, 1927, p.205; Sen, 1926, pp.44-45). Therefore,

the Buddhist state of nature assumes that man is ultimately sociable and perfectible¹². However, according to Buddhist political theory, as man lived together longer, social decay gradually occurred, and as a result, social contracts had to be made to return order and harmony to society. These contracts made possible the evolution of institutions such as the family, property, and state (Sen, 1926, p.45).

In summary, the writings of the Buddhist school seem to correlate with Wight's Kantians. Also, their philosophy also overlaps with the Grotians because they believed that the state's existence is dictated by reason and expediency, not by divine intervention i.e. the state is a rational entity (Prasad, 1927, p.208). Like the Kantians, and as depicted in Figure One, Buddhist political philosophy would be situated along the 'ego-superego' axis: the generous, benevolent, and co-operative nature of man is stressed in Buddhist political philosophy, and thus, the optimistic Buddhist view of human nature seems to correspond to the 'ego-ideal' aspect of the 'superego'.

In ancient India Jain political theory represented a middle view between the realists and the missionaries. Like Buddhism, Jainism emerged from the fifth century B.C.E. in ancient India, and represented a protestant social movement against the Brahmanic political legacy (Prasad, 1927, p.202). On the one hand, the Jains accepted that man had fallen from an original state of nature where he had lived in a condition of purity, happiness, and virtue. On the other hand, the Jain doctrine did not see man declining into a permanent state of depravity, but rather, his social condition evolved cyclically through six ages: these six ages ranged from a period of 'Sukhama-Sukhama or Happy-Happy' to 'Dukhama-Dukhama or Miserable-Miserable'. In Jain philosophy, this evolution was meant to be a political allegory which linked the origin of governmental institutions to the political environment: in other words, in the first Golden Age of human perfection human nature is pure, innocent, simple, and free from the effects of civilisation, and in this period political and economic institutions are not necessary. Yet, as man passed through the other five ages the socio-political conditions changed and, increasingly, responsibility passed to the patriarchal lords to introduce political and economic guidance to human society (Prasad, 1927, pp.221-224).

Consistent with the Jain's atheistic philosophy the idea of government is not attributed any divine significance. Furthermore, the functions of government are rational; a government's

¹² In Ancient India the Buddhist understanding of the state of nature did not prevail over the Realist state of anarchy schools, cited above. Ultimately, as Sen observes, the ideas of the psychological pessimists predominated in ancient Indian political philosophy (Sen, 1926, p.47).

purpose is to educate its citizens in all aspects of social life (Prasad, 1927, p.224). The work of Somadeva Suri iterates that the Jains believe in the secularisation of politics, and as Prasad observes, Somadeva praises, in a similar way that Hegel did one thousand years later, “the State as *summum bonum* of human life” (Prasad, 1927, p.230). Yet, for the state to satisfy these high standards, Somadeva insists that leaders must be knowledgeable, and he would even prefer the “absence of government and anarchy to uninstructed rule” (Prasad, 1927, p.231). Accordingly, the political opinions of Somadeva Suri are not unlike those expressed by European rationalists, such as Locke or Grotius: ‘good’ governance meant that leaders must display integrity and wisdom and follow the rule of law in all their actions.

Therefore, the Jain system of thought represents a synthesis of social and anti-social tendencies in man. These basic premises resemble Wight’s Grotian school. Like the Grotians, the Jains believed that man is not entirely sociable so punishment must be allowed for; they felt that a fair legal system was essential for society to flourish. In order to maintain these high standards, the system of law must never be abused by rulers for monetary ends or with a view to individual gratification (Prasad, 1927, p.233).

Furthermore, in the realm of foreign policy Somadeva’s writings have more in common with Kautilya’s work: the Jain school did not accept that a system of international norms existed between states, and at least in this respect their analysis overlaps considerably with the pessimistic views of the Ancient Indian realists (Prasad, 1927, p.241).

From a Freudian perspective the Jains’ orientation to human psychology, like those of the Grotians and Confucians, would seem to correspond to the ‘ego’ (see above). The dialectical tension between man’s sociable and co-operative nature versus his anti-social and selfish behaviour plays a prominent part in Jain social thought, as well as the theory of the ‘ego’ in Freud’s paradigm.

1.3.3. The Islamic Polity

Finally, Islamic political thought ordains that the political foundations of the Islamic state are dictated by Islamic ideology, and only those that believe and know about the Divine Law of the Qur’an should be trusted to administer the organs of Islamic government (Tamadonfar, 1989, p.54; Maudoodi, 1955, pp.139-142). The Islamic state must be empowered with a universal authority to command and prohibit its followers in all facets of their lives. The Islamic, i.e. religious, normative system seeks to mould every part of its believers’ lives, and moreover, the internal sovereignty, i.e. supreme authority, of the state is defined in terms of God’s will, i.e. as expressed in the Qur’an. Consequently, as Tamadonfar observes, in his book *The Islamic Polity and Political Leadership*, the over-arching powers of Islamic state

governments have been equated with totalitarianism: in Islamic political systems the conversion process to a 'just', i.e. Islamic, order might require political coercion, i.e. force (Tamadonfar, 1989, pp.54-56).

The foreign policies of the Islamic state are similar to Wight's hard Revolutionists. Islam explicitly tolerates the use of violent means in order to preserve justice and to destroy the unjust i.e. non-Islamic systems. According to Islamic political doctrine the holy war or *jihad* represents a legitimate means of annihilating unjust, i.e. those states at odds with the Islamic programme, political systems. Besides, the Islamic state should aim to uphold the principles of universal Islamisation, the pursuit of justice, universal brotherhood, and peaceful co-existence (Tamadonfar, 1989, pp.55-56). However, the principle of peaceful co-existence would seem to be conditional on the achievement of a universal Islamic system.

Thus, the attitude of Islam towards man's nature would seem to correlate best with Wight's revolutionary Kantians: an optimistic revolutionary perspective of social reform and social equality, would seem to be mixed with a pessimistic view of man's psychological constitution, which justifies the use of social coercion to achieve the 'just' Islamic state. In other words, the belief in the perfectibility of man's character is mixed with pessimism: coercion and repression might be required to make all citizens conform. In this respect the Islamic view of human psychology is most similar to the 'ego-superego' axis of Freud's map: in addition, the emphasis on coercive means of authority resembles the coercive/punitive aspect of the 'superego' (see Figure One).

It would seem that Islamic thought does not contain the range of philosophical views expressed by the European, ancient Greek, ancient Chinese, and ancient Indian traditions. However, it would seem that this finding does not undermine the basic theme of this chapter: as explained above, Islamic political thought, *vis-à-vis* its view of human nature, can also be placed in a certain location on the Freudian map. Nevertheless, it appears that Islamic political thinking does not span the full expanse of Freud's 'id-ego-superego' system in the same way as the European, Ancient Indian and Chinese systems: Islamic thought would seem to be more homogeneous than the philosophies of the three other civilisations studied in this chapter.

1.4.0. Summary

In conclusion, Freud's topography is intended to be a general model of human psychology. Although Freud did not directly apply his paradigm to analyse political philosophy, this chapter has tried to show that such an exercise is a worthwhile endeavour. Different aspects of Freud's psychological 'map' can be recognised in various traditions of political reflection. This chapter has tried to demonstrate that each political school of thought assumes a certain

orientation to man's basic nature: this starting point provides, implicitly or explicitly, the theoretical grounding for a particular political doctrine.

Figure Two summarises the findings of this chapter. The various traditions of political reflection are compared to Freud's psychoanalytic system. First, the belief systems of the Machiavellians, Chinese Legalists, and Ancient Indian Brahmanic schools of thought approximate the 'id-ego' axis. Secondly, the Kantians, Chinese Taoists, and Ancient Indian Buddhist traditions pre-suppose that man's political nature is perfectible, and the more optimistic-evolutionary-Kantians believe that man's nature is benevolent and co-operative: the psychological foundation of these schools would appear to match the 'ego-superego' pivot. Finally, a middle ground is presumed by the Grotian, Confucian, and Jain schools. As mentioned above, the psychological orientation of these schools towards *homo politicus* compares well with the function of the 'ego'.

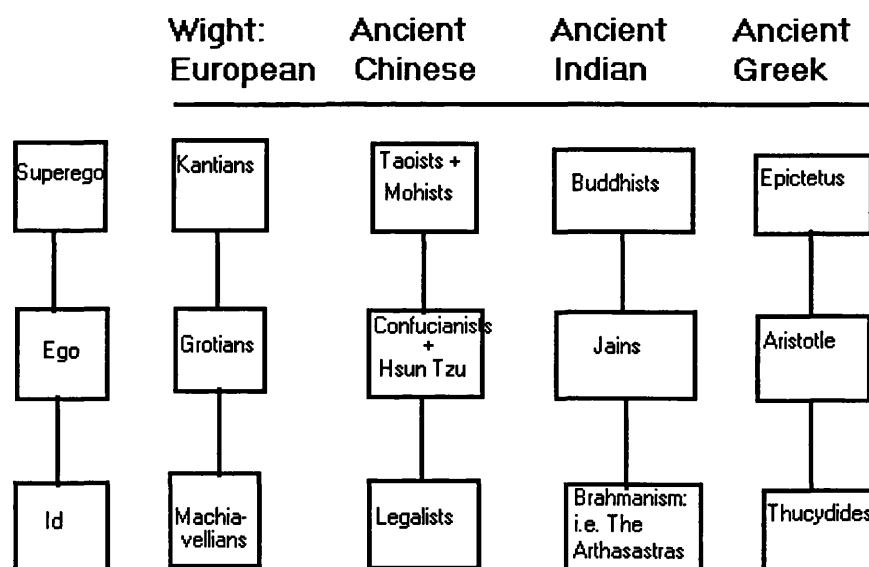


Figure Two: The 'id-ego-superego' map: A trans-cultural and trans-historical model of political philosophy

Figure Two

The overall theme of this chapter is that the structural principles of Freudian psychoanalysis provide a universalising 'map' of human psychology by which traditions of political thinking can be compared and analysed. The purpose of comparing non-Western and Western traditions is to demonstrate that this methodology is not culturally bound. The same patterns repeat themselves in the Ancient Indian and Chinese traditions.

Whereas, Freud did not extend his structural 'id-ego-superego' topography to the behaviour of collectivities such as nation-states, the next chapter will try to show that these

principles of individual psychology were implicit in his writings on international relations and political issues. Chapter Two will analyse his writings which have social and political implications: as will be explained, many of the themes of these works overlap with some of the ideas of the 'great' political thinkers of his time. Although Freud was neither an International Relations scholar, nor a political philosopher, it will be demonstrated that both the pro-social, rational, and anti-social elements of his tripartite psychological model, i.e. id-ego-superego paradigm, are suggested in his political and social writings. However, despite the similarity between some of his socio-political theories to other writers, it will be concluded that Freud's individual psychological system can be extrapolated to the realm of group psychology to provide a unique analysis of the behaviour of collectivities such as states.

Chapter Two: Freud's Socio-Political Thought

2.0.0. Introduction:

“My interest, after making a lifelong *détour* through the natural sciences, medicine and psychotherapy, returned to the cultural problems which had fascinated me long before, when I was a youth scarcely old enough for thinking” (Freud, 1959a, p.72).

The previous chapter was devoted to developing a theoretical link between Freudian thought and the issue of ‘human nature’ in political philosophy. Whereas Freud did not make direct use of his individual psychoanalytic methodology when reflecting on social and political issues, the connection is implicit.

Towards the end of his life, as the above quotation indicates, Freud turned away from individual clinical psychoanalysis in order to dedicate more time to writing on social science themes. At one point, just a few years before his death in 1939, he explicitly states that his ‘id-ego-superego’ topography could represent a way of understanding human history and cultural evolution,

“I perceived ever more clearly that the events of human history, the interactions between human nature, cultural development and the precipitates of primaevael experience (the most prominent of which is religion) are no more than a reflection of the dynamic conflicts between the ego, the id and the super-ego, which psychoanalysis studies in the individual-are the very same processes repeated upon a wider stage” (Freud, 1959a, p.72).

The fact that Freud claimed, albeit only in one obscure manuscript, such far-reaching applications for his psychoanalytic system of thought, i.e. that his psychological topography could be used to analyse collective historical agency, has left him open to criticism. For example, Roazen feels that Freud might have been suffering from “the illusion of grandiosity” in the latter moments of his life. Rather, than trying to construct an over-arching connection between individual and group behaviour, Roazen believes that Freud should have “shown greater humility in the face of mass phenomenon”. He concludes that Freud’s clinical works are more objectively coherent than his social contributions (Roazen, 1968, pp.320-21). However, Roazen does not deny that psychoanalysis could be a useful tool in political science, and that “a well-developed theory of human nature in politics would be useful for our political studies” (Roazen, 1968, p.11).

Roazen’s appraisal of Freud’s thinking would seem to be somewhat short-sighted. The last decade of Freud’s life was devoted to writing on socio-political matters¹. Moreover, it is

¹ In Roazen’s analysis of Freud’s social and political thought (1968, p.102) he notes Freud’s attention shifted away from clinical studies towards issues of social philosophy as early as 1923.

well known that Freud harboured not only an intense interest in social and political questions, but also a desire, at least in his earlier years, to be a political leader (Roazen, 1968, p.313). With these points in mind, it might well be that rather than suffering from delusions of grandeur, that, given his political curiosity, Freud was, implicitly, trying to abstract his views on individual human psychology to universal issues such as warfare, religion, and inter-state morality.

Freud's aspirations to write a narrative which connects the psychology of the individual with the political and cultural sphere might have been hampered by his relative isolation from the world of public affairs and politics². It is well known that Freud was often a harsh critic of his own social science works (Roazen, 1968, p.103). However, disregarding criticisms from himself and others, his socio-political ideas do exhibit a dialectical tension between "the realism of conservatism and the idealism of the Enlightenment" (Roazen, 1968, p.167), and in this sense are intellectually consistent with his structural theory of the human psyche. This dialectical quality of his psychological theories was demonstrated in the last chapter, and it was concluded that his concepts might provide an unique understanding of political science issues, particularly international relations. In this regard, Freud may have underestimated his potential to make a major contribution to social and political science.

As this chapter will show, Freud's writings on politics reflect the influence of many political and social theorists whose work pre-dated his own. In addition, buried within his opinions about topics such as human civilisation and religion, are important ideas about political behaviour. At the same time, those works with a bearing on international relations themes, implicitly assume that the psychoanalytic precepts applying to individual behaviour also pertain to collectivities such as nation-states. Somewhat like Marx, Freud wrote relatively little about the state. Yet, where he alludes to the state he considers it to act in the rôle of a 'group-person'.

This section will concentrate on some of Freud's writings which have political and international relations themes, in an attempt to sketch some proposals about the state and the socio-psychological relations between states. Further, even though Freud does not directly use his 'id-ego-superego' paradigm to analyse ancient political philosophies, such as the Indian and

² Roazen refers to Freud's gullibility in the area of politics. He particularly points out that Freud underestimated, almost until the time that he was forced to move from Vienna to London, the revolutionary potentials that Hitler would have on the world, and also on Freud's own family (Roazen, 1968, p.306). Of course a similar critique has been made, for example by E.H. Carr in his book *The Twenty Years' Crisis* (1983, pp.150-151), of Chamberlain's 'mistaken' appeasement policy towards Hitler. However, as Freud spent much of his life dealing with the technical development of psychoanalytic theory he did not have time to develop a comprehensive understanding of the world of public affairs, despite his earlier political aspirations. This might account for the fact that his socio-political works have the appearance of an unfinished discourse.

Chinese traditions, or more recent European political thinking, as this author has done in the previous chapter, his own political and social thought, as will be demonstrated below, contain elements of the pro-social, anti-social, and rational elements of the tripartite 'id-ego-superego paradigm' outlined previously.

2.1.0. The Evolution of the Social Compact:

Freud's writings pertaining to the development of political groupings resemble the stages of evolution of Rousseau's *Social Contract*, which can be described as follows: a pre-societal state which was the state of nature, the beginnings of a social contract between men, and finally civil society.

Freud's view of the first stage of human association was characterised by the original primal horde³, or primitive state of man; his view of the pre-political world is not as optimistic as Rousseau's. For Rousseau the original 'family' was held together by the need for self-preservation, and the state of nature was one of individual independence and equality. The primaeval father was the rôle model for all later political associations (Rousseau, 1947, p.241). Rousseau's pre-political state of nature was populated by generous men who led independent lives in a world of abundance; man was only concerned with fulfilling his basic needs, and since there were no resource shortages he could afford to live a life of indifference. Although he acted solely from animal instinct, man in the original state of nature, according to Rousseau, was an "amiable beast", and his only concern was for his own self-preservation (Bloom, 1987, p.569; Rousseau, 1973, p.76). However, in this world of plenty there was no need to fight for the sake of survival (Hoffman, 1991, p.xxxviii).

Freud's vision of primitive society, like Hobbes', was rather chaotic. Freud's description of the small 'horde' resembles Rousseau's conception of the earliest primitive family in that Freud also imagined that these groups were small and relatively independent collectivities. Nonetheless, although man's psyche was ruled by an 'egoistic' urge which was directed towards self-preservation and independence, as in Rousseau's original view of

³ A primal horde, as hypothesised by Freud, was the original social group (Badcock, 1992, p.172) in which the primal leader ruled by forceful means. Strachey notes that the term 'horde' was used by Freud to refer to relatively small groups (Freud, 1985e, p.350, footnote one). Although there is no historical proof of the existence of these hordes this does not undermine Freud's political theory any more than social contract thinkers who imagine the origins of human society (Roazen, 1968, p.154). After all traditional political philosophers from the European, Ancient Indian, and Ancient Chinese schools (see above) extrapolate man's political evolution back to an original state of nature for which no empirical proof is available. Similarly, Rousseau argues that his theory of the state of nature "must not be considered as historical truths, but only as mere conditional and hypothetical reasonings, rather to explain the nature of things, than to ascertain their actual origin; just like the hypotheses which our physicists daily form respecting the formation of the world" (Rousseau, 1973, p.45).

humankind, Freud, unlike Rousseau, believed that power in the form of physical force was an important method of social control in the state of nature. The primary concern of early man was to maintain his survival within an inhospitable external world, and primitive man, before the advent of tools, was not unlike other members of the animal kingdom. Consequently, the superior force of 'muscular strength' decided who would prevail over others (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.350).

Thus, Freud's early civilisation presumes a pessimistic, aggressive human nature, and corresponded to the 'id' extreme of Freud's dialectic: in the state of nature humans lacked a sense of moral obligation and co-operation. Social cohesion was obtained by forceful means alone. Unadulterated power, i.e. the capacity of the strong to dominate the weak, dictated the survival and command of the leader over the led; power vested in an leader meant that he was able to exert his will over the members of a 'tribal' grouping.

Yet, in the latter part of Freud's first phase of social development, intellectual superiority started to take over from brute force, and as a result the control of tools and instruments of destruction became important. But, this only changed the means of domination over others. The group that possessed the more advanced tools of destruction was able to compel the other side to surrender its claim to superiority.

Thus, although Freud envisioned small groups of humans living together according to the rule of self-preservation his 'state of nature' was more coercive and unstable than one of good-will and harmony as in Rousseau's narrative. The unity of the 'primal horde' was maintained only by power and the destructive potential of the leader: "That purpose was most completely achieved if the victor's violence eliminated his opponent permanently" (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.350). Consequently, this stage of man's evolution looks more like Hobbes' state of nature than Rousseau's. Yet, it is at the end of the pre-societal stage that Freud's political thinking departs from Hobbes' and starts to take on characteristics of Rousseau's. Hobbes' state of nature is a static concept, and for him man's entry into society did not alter his nature at all (Hoffman, 1991, p.xlviii). In contrast to Hobbes, Rousseau (Bloom, 1987, p.563), and, also Freud, conceive that man undergoes a socio-psychological transformation as he is socialised into 'civil' society.

In the next stage of man's socialisation Freud's political thought resembles Rousseau's work in that it leads to the formation of a social contract. For Rousseau as more men were forced into closer proximity, "the state of Nature...could no longer endure, and the human race would have perished had it not changed its manner of existence...They must develop some sort of central direction and learn to act in concert... That is the problem of which the Social Contract provides the solution" (Rousseau, 1947, pp.254-255). Therefore, authority over a people required the legitimate political recognition of that social association, otherwise

resentment and hostility might result. Accordingly, the intermediate phase of societies' development, in which man as a self-sufficient animal is gradually transformed into a reasonable being capable of co-operating with his fellowmen, involves not only the alteration of man's 'natural condition' of existence (i.e. his social circumstances), but also a transformation of human nature as human beings evolve from the state of nature to political society. However, in this intermediate phase, according to Rousseau, as men are forced to live together in close proximity, but before a formal Social Contract has been developed, human society is 'war-prone, ' and violence may easily erupt (Rousseau, 1973, pp.87-88; Planter, 1979, pp.109-110).

Likewise, an intermediate phase in man's socialisation, in which man's nature is gradually transformed, can be detected in Freud's writings. According to Freud "there was a path that led from violence to right or law". However, before a formal social contract is formed, and similar to Rousseau's intermediate stage of political society, human society is 'war-prone'. For example, at this stage of social development an analogy with balance of power theory might be applicable: Freud's social contract was developed as a result of '*L'union fait la force*'. In other words, the brute force of one main chief was rivalled by the union of many weaker members of a given society. The monopoly of violence of a single tribal leader, who held power illegitimately, was broken by a united front of his followers. As a result, the power that represented the authority of a community, once dominated by one person, was now placed in the hands of a united group who rallied their forces together to confront an unjust leader. In this way "right became the might of a community". However, this process only replaced the violence of an individual with the brute force of a community. This, Freud contends, presents this fictitious community with a conundrum: how to maintain a unified society? If the communal interest rallies only to combat brute force, the next cycle would include yet another power struggle, and all that would have been established would be a dominion of violence, and the process would repeat itself *ad infinitum*. If a group evolved only for the purpose of fighting a single dominant leader and then dissolved after he was vanquished, the notion of a 'stable' society would be meaningless: the human race might even expire if this process continued. For human society to become stable and united a transition from coercion to communal morality was necessary and, . to avoid sporadic rebellions, it had to institute regulations and put in place legal authorities who would oversee the "execution of legal acts of violence" i.e. punishment (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, pp.351-352).

As in Rousseau's narrative, Freud assumes that what was required to form a stable society was a 'contractual' arrangement between the leaders and the led. This facilitated the process of 'civilisation' which sought to bring a greater number of people together into larger collectivities: when society became more complex and more human beings lived in proximity "violence [was] overcome by the transference of power to a larger unity, which is held together by the emotional ties between its members". According to Freud, the true source of strength of

human society resides in the communal feelings that evolve between individuals comprising a united collectivity, because social coercion as the sole means of authority, as demonstrated in Freud's early state of nature, encourages rebellion and instability. Furthermore, it is essential that the legal precepts of government were seen to be legitimate by the community at large, which in turn, facilitated the evolution of communal interests that helped to bind human societies together by strong 'emotional ties'. In this way regulations were set up to minimise the risk of rebellions and violence in society (Freud, 1985e, *Why War?*, pp.351-352, *Civilisation and its Discontents*, 1985a, p.292).

In the final stage of political society, Rousseau's social contract, requiring a mitigation of man's independent selfish nature, is formed. Furthermore, each citizen in civil society must "substitute for the person of each of the contracting parties a moral and collective body". (Rousseau, 1947, p.257). Rousseau describes an ongoing struggle between man's selfish desires and his moral commitments to society: however, in order to thrive in civil society social man must develop a spirit of self-sacrifice, which Rousseau refers to as *vertu* (Hoffman, 1991, p.lxviii; Mc Manners, 1972, p.309). Thus, the institution of civil society requires the "subordination of the individual to the whole, while man by nature is a selfish, independent animal" (Bloom, 1987, p.567). Yet, human society cannot rely entirely on man's spirit of self-sacrifice, so it requires government to moderate and regulate the ongoing friction between individual and collective interests.

To all intents and purposes, this final stage of development of civil society is the same for Freud. However, Freud goes one step further than Rousseau by translating the notion of the social contract into a part of his paradigm of human psychology. For Freud the development of the individual 'superego' is intertwined with the normative framework of society:

"At this point the two processes, that of cultural development of the group and that of the cultural development of the individual, are, as it were, always interlocked. For that reason some of the manifestations and properties of the 'superego' can be more easily detected in the cultural community than in the separate individual...The cultural super-ego has developed its ideals and set up its demands. Among the latter, those which deal with the relations of human beings to one another are comprised under the heading of ethics" (Freud, 1985a, *Civilisation and Its Discontents*, p.336).

Thus, Freud's schema not only describes the political and social processes which lead to man's absorption into a political community, like Rousseau's system of thought, but, also links these socio-cultural factors to a paradigm of man's psychological development. Freud describes the transformation of human consciousness that man undergoes as he becomes integrated into civil society, and in addition offers a model that accounts for man's socio-psychological metamorphosis. In other words, he links the internal consciousness of human beings with the external social, cultural, and political environment.

As the above analysis demonstrates, the development of 'civilised' man demands sacrifices for the individual, such as the restriction of his independence: for both Rousseau and Freud, these social expectations are seen to be a potential source of human frustration. For Rousseau there is no way of avoiding the fact that the formation of civil society and binding commitments to others is a form of bondage, an erosion of freedom (Bloom, 1987, p.567). Likewise, for Freud, psychological distress can arise from social sources such as "the regulations which adjust the mutual relationships of human beings in the family, the state and society". Freud then goes on to link the evolution of some psychiatric disorders, for example neuroses, to societal edicts and constraints,

"It was discovered that a person becomes neurotic because he cannot tolerate the amount of frustration which society imposes on him in the service of its cultural ideals...(Freud, *Civilisation and its Discontents*, pp.274-275).

This is another example where Freud's system of social and political thought links the internal dimension of man's psyche with the external world⁴.

Therefore, according to both Freud and Rousseau, the social contract of 'civilised society' always involves the potential for conflict. For Freud, the union with others in a community, in the name of collective harmony, involves cultural restraints-norms serving to forge a socio-psychological unity between individuals and society. In addition, to the extent that the satisfaction of self-gratifying, anti-social wishes might bring happiness for the individual, and corresponding grief for society, the individual must accept some restriction of his individual desires: in other words, he must accept that behaviour which does not match social expectations must be censored by himself or society (Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, 1985a, p.334). While there might be a place for the satisfaction of some 'egoistic', i.e. self-centred and selfish, urges in civil society, the interests of a human community requires them to be suppressed, otherwise social collapse and anarchy, i.e. disorder, could follow. Likewise, for Rousseau, the strict moral education required to fulfil the expectations of the social contract will always involve some conflict between the self-serving, independently motivated side of man, and the formation of a constitutional unity embodied in the collective will (Rousseau, 1947, pp.256-58). Thus, a constant tension exists in Rousseau's political philosophy between the need for individual autonomy and freedom and the imposition of authority in political societies (Mc Manners, 1972, p.295). Similarly, according to Rousseau, moral conventions constrain the independence of individuals and some men may become 'unhappy' and even 'wicked' when they are made to be 'sociable' because there is no such thing as a 'natural' society between

⁴ In *Civilisation and its Discontents* (1985a) Freud concentrates on the sources of human dissatisfaction and frustration within the context of civil society. In *Why War?* (1985e) he traces the course of human social evolution leading to the social contract, which, as described above, was required to mitigate violence.

men: society is not a 'natural state of affairs', it is an artificial creation of humanity (Rousseau, 1991c, p.110; Planter, 1979, p.107, 114). In other words, Rousseau contends that society is full of contradictions: the notion of society is alien to man's nature, yet, political society requires that the psychology of 'natural', i.e. self-sufficient, man must be 'denatured' as 'moral' man is created within civil society. However, Rousseau realised that the transformation of man into a 'moral being' would always remain incomplete, and as a result, violent behaviour committed by frustrated citizens could result from the incongruity between individual needs and those of a social collectivity (Plattner, 1979, pp.115, 119; Hoffman, 1991, p.xli.) Therefore, to summarise, Rousseau's and Freud's political thought converge on the idea that the expectations of society produce demands that the individual citizen might find excessive.

Finally, Freud, like Rousseau, discusses the issue of social justice, in the sense of legal equality for all citizens, within political societies. For Rousseau a successful social contract produces a change in human consciousness whereby each citizen substitutes "justice for instinct in his behaviour," and by so doing man gives, "his actions moral relationships which they did not have before". In other words, Rousseau's social compact necessitates that each and every person places himself under the sway of the general will and becomes a mutually interdependent part of civil society (Rousseau, 1991c, pp.112-113; Bloom, 1987, p.560). However, Rousseau's social contract requires that legislators take care to enact laws that the people can observe: the social compact within a State should establish 'a degree of equality' so that all citizens assume the same obligations and claim the same rights before the law (Rousseau, 1947, p.280, 297).

Freud's views on justice and social equality seem to echo Rousseau's. According to Freud, states, nations, tribes all become possible and sustainable because men transfer authority to a larger unity, and that entity is held together by the evolving emotional ties between the members of the social unit. However a stable society is only possible if,

"The justice of the community then becomes an expression of the unequal degrees of power obtaining within it; the laws are made by and from the ruling members and find little room for the rights of those in subjection. From that time forward there are two factors at work in the community which are sources of unrest over matters of law...First, attempts are made by certain of the rulers to set themselves above the prohibitions which apply to everyone...Secondly, the oppressed members of the group make constant efforts to obtain more power and to have any changes that are brought about in that direction recognized in the laws-they press forward, that is, from unequal justice to equal justice for all" (Freud, 1985e, p.352).

In other words, the advancement of justice, and the development of law within a community, is only possible when the subjects of a political 'group' are successful in convincing rulers to make the kind of legal changes which offer more equal treatment before the law, and when rulers are no longer able to put themselves above the reach of the law (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.352).

Also, Freud, like Rousseau, observes that if rulers fail to 'legitimate' their authority to their followers, rebellion may ensue. For example, Rousseau notes that "man is born free, and nevertheless everywhere he is in chains" (Rousseau, 1991c, p.111). Therefore, he observes that men will fight to shake of the yoke of the state if its leaders try to rule without the consent of its people. If leaders do not respect these principles their state may be devastated by civil unrest:

"[A] State may be destroyed by civil troubles...Its fetters once struck off it falls apart and ceases to exist as a unity" (Rousseau, 1947, pp.297-298).

Likewise, Freud argues that if a social contract within a particular community does not evolve along with the expectations of its citizens, if the ruling classes place themselves above the law, and if rulers do not try to accommodate their subjects' demands for equal rights, then the people may rise up in revolt, and civil war might follow (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.352). Herein, both Rousseau and Freud agree on a source of civil disobedience: chaos and civil unrest might develop if the political structure of a community is considered to be illegitimate, inequitable, and concerned only for its own vested interests.

In conclusion, Freud's dialectical treatment of human psychology is reflected in his ideas on the state of nature, social cohesion, and social contract theory. Moreover, this section has tried to demonstrate that Freud's social and political thought was not limited to a 'realist' or Hobbesian perspective: this section has suggested that Freud's views on social cohesion resemble, and may have been influenced by, social contract theorists such as Rousseau.

2.2.0. The Cultural Superego and the Conscience Collective:

This section will explore the similarity between Durkheim's notion of the *conscience collective* and Freud's concept of the cultural 'superego' (Gordon, 1991, pp.451-452). Durkheim defined the *collective conscience* as:

"The totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society [which] forms a determinate system with a life of its own. Undoubtedly the substratum of this consciousness does not consist of a single organ. By definition it is diffused over society as a whole, but nevertheless possesses specific characteristics that make it a distinctive reality. In fact it is independent of the particular conditions in which individuals find themselves. Individuals pass on, but it abides...Likewise it does not change with every generation but, on the contrary, links several generations to one another. Thus, it is something totally different from the consciousness of individuals, although it is only realised in individuals". (Durkheim, 1984, p.39).

Therefore, Durkheim's *conscience collective* is a general term describing all those normative influences that individuals, from one generation to another, are exposed to as a result of living in society; these collective rules encompass religious values, civil and criminal laws, and other traditional values (Durkheim, 1984, pp.107-108). The *conscience collective* functions in a way that unites men by a bond of sociability: "In this case the feelings that

cause them to turn towards one another modify entirely naturally promptings of egoism. From another viewpoint the society that encloses them, unable to exist save when not shaken at every instant by some upheaval, bears down upon them with all its weight to force them to make the necessary concessions to one another” (Durkheim, 1979, p.78).

Likewise, Freud refers to the ‘cultural superego’, the political and social development of which was described in the previous section, as comprising the ethical ideals i.e. moral values, norms, and punitive forces within society that engender social cohesion, co-operation, and conformity: in other words, it constitutes the normative framework and system of communal enforcement, i.e. coercion, within a society that modifies individual egoism, i.e. self-centred behaviour that contravenes the social expectations of a given society. Moreover, the ‘cultural superego’ is the external agency in a community which results in the formation of the individual ‘superego’: “the cultural...’superego’ sets up strict ideal demands, disobedience to which is visited with ‘fear of conscience”. Accordingly, it is these environmental influences that result in the differentiation of the maturing ‘ego’ into the moralising ‘superego’, creating thereby a moral conscience *vis-à-vis* society. Furthermore, Freud suggests that the ethical demands, i.e. demand for social acquiescence, of the ‘cultural superego’ within ‘modern civilisation’, i.e. society after the development of a common social contract, may be quite severe: this limitation of personal freedom may result in personal unhappiness, neuroses, or even a violent revolt against societies demands for compliance (*Civilization and its Discontents*, 1985a, pp.335-337; Freud, 1962, *The Ego and the Id*, pp.18-19). Therefore, Freud suggests that the individual ‘superego’ conscience, which as noted in Chapter One is composed of the ‘ego-ideal’ and punitive components, is mirrored by a similar set of social processes within society,

“At this point the two processes, that of the cultural development of the group and that of the cultural development of the individual, are, as it were always interlocked. For that reason some of the manifestations and properties of the superego can be more easily detected in its behaviour in the cultural community than in the separate individual” (Freud, 1985a, p.336).

In other words, Freud tries to link the psychological evolution of the individual’s ‘superego’ with the external social forces which help to shape this aspect of human personality. Consequently, the fact that man becomes socialised within a certain social and cultural environment, and thereupon co-operates with the expectations of society provides evidence of the ‘superego’s’ development. Moreover, Freud’s political and social thought, as described in the previous section, would seem to indicate that the external social processes of the ‘cultural superego’ were very coercive in the primitive state of nature, whereas, in the later phases of man’s political development, and as a ‘social contract’ evolved, the external forces of socialisation relied more on conciliatory and benevolent means to maintain social cohesion.

Unlike Durkheim's concept of the '*conscience collective*', Freud links the idea of the 'cultural superego' to individual psychological processes, which result in the formation of the individual superego. Nevertheless, the functions of Freud's 'cultural superego' and Durkheim's *conscience collective* are obviously similar, but, whereas Freud integrates the concept into a theory of human psychology, Durkheim does not try to elaborate an holistic psychological theory of human nature. However, in his essay "The Dualism of Human Nature and its Social Conditions (1914)" Durkheim alludes to a dichotomy of human nature: the individual state of consciousness is juxtaposed and in conflict with that of society. Furthermore, Durkheim explains that: "it is evident that passions and egoistic tendencies derive from our individual constitutions, while our rational activity-whether theoretical or practical-is dependent on social causes. We have often had occasion to prove that the rules of morality are norms that have been elaborated by society" (Durkheim, 1979, p.338). Hence, this quotation from Durkheim reflects a view of human nature resembling Freud's conflict between the rational 'ego' and the anti-social 'id' (Gordon, 1991, pp.451-452).

In summary, Durkheim's work pre-dated Freud's elaboration of his social framework, which includes the development of the individual 'superego' and societies' 'cultural superego' concepts, and there appears to be an overlapping of his sociological methodology with Durkheim's.

2.2.1. Totems and Taboos:

This section will describe Freud's writings on primitive social groups, and in particular the social significance of totems and taboos. On the one hand, the idea of Durkheim's '*collective conscience*' would also seem to have inspired some of Freud's ideas on the formation of totems and taboos. In Freud's work *Totem and Taboo* (1955b, pp.113, 120), Durkheim's extensive documentation of totemic rituals in his book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, is acknowledged. However, as will be explained, Freud's views on the evolution of early tribal groupings, which he refers to as the 'primal horde', represent original socio-anthropological ideas.

In Freud's manuscript, *Totem and Taboo* (Freud, 1955b, p.141-142) he outlines a parable describing the parricide of the father/leader of the above-mentioned 'primal horde'; this allegory represents Freud's attempt to explain the roots of social cohesion in human groupings (Roazen, 1968, p.154). This mythical tale represents a detailed account of the collective power struggle to unseat the ruling tribal chief, and was alluded to in the previous section. In this bloody tale, as recounted in *Totem and Taboo*, the rebellious young sons kill the primal father, and then devour him as recompense for his abusive power, and also as a symbolic way of identifying with the power which they long sought after (Freud, 1955b, p.141-42). Freud also refers to this battle for power in primitive social groups in his letter to Albert Einstein, *Why*

War? (1985e, p.351). After the murder of the primal father, the clan, according to Freud, was still faced with the eternal task of finding a basis for living together. A recurring problem is presented to the clan in that none of the victors could take his place without risking the resumption of battles. Therefore, Freud explains that ritual totems and taboos exist as collective symbols of the father's power and the later communal guilt the group feels for killing their leader: "he was the ideal of each one of them, at once feared and honoured, a fact which led later to the idea of taboo". Furthermore, totemic animals become the divine creatures of the gods; they represent the earliest form of moral constraints prohibiting murder and incest in society (*Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1985b, pp.168-69, *The Future of an Illusion*, 1985c, p.203; Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, 1985a, pp.324-325).

If all this seems rather far-fetched, it does exemplify Freud's agency of the cultural 'superego'. Symbols, laws, group norms, totems and taboos, for example, are societies' way of formulating constraints on individual egoism, and the potential violence which might ensue from self-centred and anti-social behaviour, in order to make a lasting social coexistence possible. For example, in his book *Moses and Monotheism* (1939, p.188) Freud observes that,

"Totemism, the first form of religion of which we know, contains as an indispensable part of its system a number of laws and prohibitions which plainly mean nothing else but instinctual renunciation. There is worship of the Totem, which contains the prohibition against killing or harming it...the granting of equal rights for all members of the brother horde, i.e. the restriction of the impulse to settle their rivalry by brute force. In these rules we have to discern the first beginnings of a moral and social order."

In this he has the support of Durkheim who notes that collective symbols, such as totemic principles, provide a socialising function in society: in a sense totems represent the clan itself in personified form. Moreover, according to Durkheim they function as a collective flag or emblem (1964, p.205). Punishment in primitive societies serves an emotional purpose: when social sentiments are offended, the social reaction reflects a collective indignation. All members of society feel individually threatened by the attack on collective values (Durkheim, 1984, pp.44, 57).

In summary, Freud's elaboration of cultural influences on 'superego' development, such as totems in primitive societies, parallels Durkheim's treatment of the same topic. Also, one could argue that Durkheim's theory of 'collective representations' might have influenced Freud's thinking as regards the issue of social cohesion, and in this sense was part of the early twentieth century social thought that Freud absorbed.

2.3.0. The State: An Individual-Collective Analogy:

Freud's conception of group identity and the state corresponds to a certain tradition of European social thought that can be traced back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

For example, his notion of the state as a 'collective individual of mankind' (Freud, 1985d, p.72) resembles some of the writings of writers such as Rousseau, Comte, Hegel and Durkheim. What these philosophers shared in common was their understanding of a political collectivity, i.e. the state, as a kind of 'social organism', or collective 'mind'. Therefore, before analysing Freud's discussion of group formation and interaction it would be useful to examine, briefly, these earlier ideas, because Freud's methodology is more easily understood when considered as an extension of this tradition of social thought.

2.3.1. Rousseau: The Body Politic

Rousseau's theory of the collective will manifests itself in his concept of the 'body politic'. The anatomy of the state was directly compared to the structural features of the human body.

Rousseau explains that,

"The body politic, taken individually, may be considered like an organized living body, resembling that of man. The sovereign power symbolises the head; the laws and customs are the brain, source of the nerves, and seat of the understanding, the will, and the senses, of which the judges and magistrates are the organs; commerce, industry, and agriculture are the mouth and stomach which prepare the common subsistence; the public finances are the blood, which a prudent economy, in performing the functions of the heart, distributes through the whole body to give nourishment and life; the citizens are the body and members that cause the machine to move, live, and work and that cannot be wounded in any part without quickly causing a painful impression on the brain, if the animal is in a state of health (Rousseau, 1991b, pp.1-2)."

For Rousseau the unity of the body politic is essential; if the state is to maintain its function as a moral being providing welfare to its entire population, then it must remain as a unified entity (Rousseau, 1991b, p.2). Rousseau, in his essay "*Considerations on the Government of Poland* (1991a), " cites Poland as an example of a disunited, vulnerable state, unable to insure the welfare of its population: "Poland, a depopulated, devastated, and oppressed region, defenceless against her aggressors and at the height of her misfortunes and anarchy...She is in chains.." (Rousseau, 1991a, p.163). He could not imagine how Poland was able to survive for as long as it had. Poland's government, in the eighteenth century, was comprised of a number of disunited members whose political activities were not directed towards any common end. According to Rousseau's analysis, as a result of ongoing internal anarchy Poland was unable to resist constant military incursions by other more unified states that surrounded it (Rousseau, 1991a, pp.163, 167).

Poland's plight underscores Rousseau's belief in the importance of collective solidarity between government and civil society:

“The life of both is the *self* common to the whole, the reciprocal sensibility and internal correspondence of all its parts. What if this communication ceases, if the formal unity is gone, and the contiguous parts belong to each other only by proximity? The man is dead, or the state is dissolved” (Rousseau, 1991b, p.2).

Thus, Rousseau proposes that the state ‘body politic,’ like an individual organism, must maintain a unified existence or it will perish.

2.3.2. Comte: The Social Organism

Auguste Comte elaborates a biological analogy of states and human groups in his essay, “*The Positive Theory of the Social Organism*” (1975, pp.420-436). He proposed that the sociological study of human groups must consider the social whole, which cannot be reduced to an analysis of individual participants (Gordon, 1991, p.292). Furthermore, like Rousseau, he compares the governing function of groups to the cerebral functions of individual men:

“The social organism, therefore, is a single whole just as, and even more than, the individual organism, in which we know how much material functions, in spite of their governing the rest, have constant need of the cerebral functions” (Comte, 1975, p.427).

Thus, Comte takes his theorising to the extreme considering the social organism to be a more concrete entity, i.e. an empirically defined fact, than individual persons (Gordon, 1991, p.292). Moreover, he makes a biological analogy comparing social groups to cells and tissues in the human body:

“...I shall treat the social organism as definitely composed of the families that are the true elements or cells; next, of the classes or castes that are its proper tissues; and last, of the cities and communes that are its real organs...” (Comte, 1991, p.429).

Comte extends his discussion of the ‘collective organism of man’ to a theoretical consideration of the state. The state embodies the ‘great organism’. A state government is attributed cerebral functions; its power over society is necessary to ensure that men amalgamate, because like Hobbes, Comte assumes that man’s self-centred nature predominates over his selfless desire to unite with other men in society. The ‘business’ of government is to combine and direct, and, each member of society must fulfil his duty to obey the directives of the ‘great organism’, i.e. the state (Comte, 1991, pp.430-431).

Comte’s vision of the state corresponds to the pessimistic views of Hobbes: a government’s responsibility is to ‘control and direct’ by its powers of coercion. The rationale for government’s wide powers resides in the fact that,

“Our sympathetic instincts are, alas, too weak to sustain us in the great and prolonged efforts needed for ambition of a useful order. And if man’s egoism did not create more active incentive to exertion, societies would often find it difficult to obtain a government, or to replace it when lost” (Comte, 1991, pp.431-432).

Therefore, the state requires the executive or cerebral functions of its leaders to keep the material society, i.e. its members, together. Comte's pessimism, like Hobbes', leads to a vision of an authoritarian state. The state does not 'wither away' but requires that the individual subordinates himself to the 'great social organism' (Gordon, 1991, p.293).

2.3.3. Hegel: The Group Mind

Hegel, in his book *Philosophy of Right*, also employed a metaphor between the human body and the state. Individual members who belong to the state 'organism' occupy a definite place in this 'organism', and in this sense are like organs of the body; unless these body parts continue to function under a common identity the 'whole' will perish (Hegel, 1985, p.282§161; Hassner, 1987, p.738). Hegel personifies the state as if it were a collective self, and, as a living organism the 'state person' possesses a 'mind' (Hegel, 1985, pp.160§259; 214§335). States as 'existent individuals' represent the 'national mind' reacting to the behaviour of 'other' state actors that are entitled to the same sovereign rights as it has (Hegel, 1985, p.213§333; p.215§340).

In Hegel's philosophy the state is depicted as a 'thinking' entity which represents the 'ethical idea' for all members who comprise the state 'organism'. In other words, the state embodies the collective morality for a community united by tradition, religion and moral beliefs. Accordingly, the life of the 'whole' community depends on the state's fulfilment of its legal and moral duties (Hegel, 1985, p.155§257; Knox, 1985, p.364§267.9). In this respect, only an allegiance to the state can ensure that the individual prevails over his selfishness (Hassner, 1987, p.733).

Finally, Hegel believed that the civil moral code of particular states does not extend to the inter-state realm: states are not moral beings *vis-à-vis* their respective relations with each other. The constitution of the state is the basis of organisation by which the state maintains an 'organic life', however, once constituted, the state becomes an 'unique and exclusive' individual (Hegel, 1985, p.174§271). Significantly, Hegel recognises the ability of state 'organisms' to be self-contained and self-interested, since the collective will of states is not subject to any constitutional authority, which can override its sovereign rights, a state is the ultimate judge of its own actions (Hegel, 1985, p.213§333): "[state] relations are on the largest scale a maelstrom...of passions, private interests, and selfish ends, abilities and virtues, vices, force and wrong (Hegel, 1985, p.215§340).

2.3.4. Durkheim: The Social 'Brain'

Durkheim elaborates, from a sociological perspective, upon the idea of a state 'organism'. The organisation of a political group involves the exercise of authority over a population.

The state represents a particular type of political group in which this authority over a population and a territory is vested in a government (Durkheim, 1986, pp.32-34). Thus constituted, the state constitutes a political society:

“We should then define the political society as one formed by the coming together of a rather large number of secondary social groups, subject to the same one authority which is not itself subject to any other superior authority duly constituted...the major political societies are formed by the gradual aggregation of the minor” (Durkheim, 1986, p.35, 37).

Durkheim proposed that the state assumes an executive function for the collectivity that it governs: it thinks and decides on behalf of the society that it acts for. Since the state fulfils a cognitive function for the ‘body politic’ it can be thought of as a ‘social brain’ (Durkheim, 1986, pp.39, 40, 43, 45; Giddens, 1986, p.9). The intellectual power of the state embodies a group consciousness; its principal rôle is to direct collective conduct. The state performs its directive task over society via the intervening administrative organs of society which function like the central nervous system of the human body: these administrative organs are subordinated to the state ‘brain’ (Durkheim, 1985, p.41, 45).

2.4.0. Freud: States as Political Units:

Freud does not integrate his view of the state into a cohesive theory as do Comte, Durkheim, Hegel, and Rousseau. Yet, where he alludes to political units such as states he regards them as group-actors. His reflections about the nature of state interaction and group psychology reveals methodological similarities to the writers cited above, though he does not directly quote any of their works. Freud’s analogy between human actors and the political group is implicit in his socio-political texts: each are discrete units or individuals. In his various essays with political themes he refers to the state in slightly different ways. Sometimes they are units, and at other times persons or organisms.

Freud’s perception of states as collective ‘units’ interacting with each other, in his essay *Why War?* (1932), resembles Rousseau’s unified entity-the ‘body politic’. Freud refers to political groups such as states as unitary entities. Countries and empires alike, are imagined to be discrete ‘units’ having definable relations with other political ‘units’. Vulnerable communities risk being absorbed by larger, more powerful ones. Also, according to Freud, larger political ‘units’ have, throughout history, been created by force of arms, and Freud notes that these newly created entities are potentially unstable:

“Paradoxical as it may sound, it must be admitted that war might be a far from inappropriate means of establishing the eagerly desired reign of ‘everlasting’ peace, since it is in a position to create the large units within which a powerful central government makes further wars impossible. Nevertheless, it fails in this purpose, for the results of conquest are as a rule short-lived: the newly created units fall apart

once again, usually owing to a lack of cohesion between the portions that have been united by violence” (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.353).

Therefore, Freud emphasises the element of disunity within a political community, in a similar way that Rousseau does in his example of Poland. The ‘body politic’ risks falling apart when political cohesion is not sustained. The Roman Empire, according to Freud, exemplifies a case where unity was maintained by virtue of a social contract, the *Pax Romana*. Although the Roman edifice was forged through the conquest of Mediterranean countries, coercive means were transformed into legal instruments in order to facilitate political unity between member countries. Freud notes that throughout the course of history, disunity and conflict between larger and smaller political units, such as cities, provinces, nations, and empires, has been a recurrent phenomena. However, although political unification constructed by force has a considerable legacy in human history, these unions have only been ‘partial’. In other words, conflicts resolved only by muscular strength, and not by legal means, eventually re-surface and require yet another violent ‘solution’ (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, pp.353-354). Therefore, Freud implies that the unity of the political bodies is a shifting and tenuous condition.

2.4.1. Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego: States as Group Organisms

Freud attempted to develop a systematic theory of group psychology in his book *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921). His analysis was “concerned with the individual man as a member of a race, of a nation, of a caste, of a profession, of an institution, or as a component part of a crowd of people who have been organised into a group at some particular time for some definite purpose” (Freud, 1985b, p.96). Further, unlike other essays by Freud, such as *Why War?*, his work *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, emphasises the social co-operation, intra-group solidarity, and fellowship between human beings in social groupings, rather than the Hobbesian ‘id’ component which manifests itself in violence and inter-group warfare. Freud’s *Group Psychology* abstracts Plato’s idea of ‘Eros’ to refer to the harmonising and uniting forces which may hold groups together (Freud, 1985b, pp.119-121). In addition, this essay concentrates on group members’ respect for group values and ideals, as well as the emotional bonds which these group ideals help to develop between group members. In this respect Freud’s *Group Psychology* piece focuses on the benevolent and pro-social aspect of human psychology which is summarised by the concept of the ‘ego-ideal’.

In this manuscript Freud refers to the anthropomorphic analogy of the ‘group mind’. To describe the nature of the ‘group mind’ he quotes Gustave Le Bon’s work, *Psychologie des foules* (1895):

“Whoever be the individuals that compose [a psychological group], however like or unlike be their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a crowd⁵ puts them in possession of a collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation (Le Bon, 1903, pp.29-30).”

Freud also expands upon Le Bon’s concept of the ‘group mind’ by saying that it is possible to attribute characteristics of an individual to a group: in other words “the formation of groups is like the continuation of the multicellular character of the higher organisms” (Freud, 1985b, p.115).

Freud’s model of group psychology and group ‘mind’ develops upon his ideas about totems and taboos (see above). Social cohesion forms because individual narcissism, i.e. the individual’s capacity to resist socialisation into an organised group, is superseded by the identification of the individual with a leader, or the leading principles of a group⁶. These socialising forces, as described in the previous section, are enshrined in the ‘cultural superego’. Freud recognises that each individual is linked simultaneously to many different groups:

“Each individual is a component part of numerous groups, he is bound by ties of identification in many directions, and he has built up his ego-ideal upon the most various models. Each individual therefore has a share in numerous group minds—those of his race, of his class, of his creed, of his nationality, etc.—and he also can raise himself above them to the extent of having a scrap of independence and originality” (Freud, 1985b, p.161).

Freud’s notion of the group ‘organism’ is reminiscent of Comte’s model, yet, Freud does not portray the group as taking over individual independence completely, as Comte did, so that the individual becomes indistinguishable from the group. Freud believed that a certain degree of individual autonomy co-existed with an individual’s identification with a group. Therefore, according to Freud’s analysis, the ‘group mind’ does not necessarily take over the individual one. Also, another major difference between Comte’s⁷ and Freud’s social

⁵ The English translation that Freud quotes (London:1920), in his manuscript *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1985b, p.99), translates the French word *foule* as ‘group’. The translation quoted herein, uses the more orthodox translation of the word to mean crowd.

⁶ When Freud states that identification is a psychological process whereby individual members identify with the group ideal as embodied in the leader, he does not mean that all group cohesion requires a flesh and blood leader. As mentioned above, social cohesion can involve abstract principles such as totems, taboos or the value system of a community.

⁷ Comte’s methodology rejected the process of psychological observation, or the study of internal consciousness. He always referred to Psychology contemptuously, and felt that the study of the human mind, moral and intellectual functions was a matter for the Biological sciences (Mill, 1968, p.63). In contrast, Freud’s concept of the group ‘organism’ and ‘mind’ is incorporated within his psychological system of thought, and in this respect is clearly at odds with Comte’s positivism.

‘organism’ analogy is that Comte took the idea of the collective ‘organism’, literally, as a physical entity, whereas, Freud uses the analogy to highlight a psychological theory of group identification.

2.4.2. The State: Collective Individuals of Mankind:

Freud’s allusion to the state as a ‘collective individual of mankind’, in his article *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death* (1915) (Freud, 1985d, pp.66, 72, 75, 76), is an extension of the group ‘mind’ system of thought, and this particular description of the state is reminiscent of Hegel and Durkheim (see above). Freud suggests that the state should be considered as a unitary group-actor with a ‘group-mind’ which guides relationships with other political units. Furthermore, Freud believed that ethical relationships could evolve between states in the same way that they did between individual citizens. In this respect, his political opinions diverge from Hegel’s and converge with Kant’s cosmopolitanism, (see pages 21-22).

Freud believed that ethical relationships between larger collectivities, such as states, were both desirable and possible,

“...all the international undertakings and institutions in which the common civilization of peace-time had been embodied would be maintained. Even a war like this [World War One] would have produced enough horror and suffering; but it would not have interrupted the development of ethical relations between the collective individuals of mankind-the peoples and states...[War] disregards all the restrictions known as International Law, which in peace-time the states had bound themselves to observe” (Freud, *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, 1985d, p.65).

Therefore, Freud conceives that relationships between states are subject to ethical responsibilities as mandated by International Law. He also believed that states that shirk their ethical responsibilities with other states by breaking treaties and other mutual ‘guarantees’ should be thought of in the same critical light as individuals who dismiss their civic and legal responsibilities,

“Peoples are more or less represented by the states which they form, and these states by the governments which rule them...A belligerent state permits itself every such misdeed, every such act of violence, as would disgrace the individual...It absolves itself from the guarantees and treaties by which it was bound to other states, and confesses shamelessly to its own rapacity and lust for power, which the private individual has then to sanction in the name of patriotism...Two things in this war [World War I] have aroused our sense of disillusionment: the low morality shown externally by states which in their internal relations pose as guardians of moral standards, and the brutality shown by individuals, whom, as participants in the highest human civilization, one would not have thought capable of such behaviour (Freud, *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, 1985d, pp.66-67).

In this passage Freud seems to infer that a state government acts as a conscious 'mind', and in this sense his conception of the state resembles Durkheim's; the state protects the morality of a community by exerting its authority over the individual, and the individual as part of a group, i.e. state collectivity, must demonstrate his allegiance to it through his patriotism. The state government guarantees that the ethical standards of a society are inculcated to its citizens. However, Freud goes one step further than Durkheim when he questions whether a supra-national moral authority should exist in order to set standards between state actors. Furthermore, he is not satisfied to accept that the highest standards of civilisation only apply within states. The notion of 'civilised' society means that the external compulsions of society result in a transformation from 'egoism' to 'altruism' (Freud, *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, 1985d, p.71). Freud believes that the same transformative process should apply, as well, to states,

“...we shall much more easily endure the disappointment which the nations⁸, the collective individuals of mankind, have caused for us, for the demands we make upon these should be far from modest. Perhaps they are recapitulating the course of individual development, and to-day [sic] still represent very primitive phases in organization and in the formation of higher unities. It is in agreement with this that the educative factor of an external compulsion towards morality, which we found was so effective in individuals, is as yet barely discernible in them [states]” (Freud, *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, 1985d, p.75).

In this quotation Freud infers that state actors might have to pass through the stages of socialisation, which were described at the beginning of this chapter, that transformed primitive man into a citizen of a complex political unit. He does not accept that man or collective man is bound to live in an Hobbesian state of nature. States should be 'educated' so that they come to appreciate the benefits of social co-operation with other states. In this quotation Freud's analogy between persons and states explicitly links the issue of individual social cohesion to the collective level.

Also, when Freud discusses the socialisation of states in his essay, *Why War?*, he would seem to be implicitly combining the 'id-ego-superego paradigm', with his analysis of group psychology and the group 'mind'⁹. Freud simply changes the level-of-analysis from the

⁸ In his manuscript *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death* (1985d) Freud uses the terms states, collective individuals of mankind, and nations interchangeably.

⁹ The above-mentioned essay *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death* (1985d) was written eight years before Freud formally elaborated the 'id-ego-superego' structure in *The Ego and the Id* (1962). However, in earlier works like *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death* it is possible to anticipate Freud's later structural model. Certainly the socialisation of man and the development of a conscience, for both individuals and state-persons, is evident in this earlier work.

individual to the collective, i.e. state, level, but in the process employs the same psychoanalytic methodology to analyse the behaviour of persons and group-persons. For example, he seems to extend the idea of the 'superego' to the inter-state level. As noted earlier, Freud's orientation towards the League of Nations parallels Kant's notion of a 'conscience of mankind'. Consistent with his theory of 'superego' formation Freud believed that if the League of Nations was to be effective it must have some power vested in it, while members and non-members must be prepared to heed its 'moral' message. From these political comments it would seem that Freud's political convictions were in the political traditions of 'humane liberal thought' (Trilling, 1955, p.41), and consequently, he promoted the idea of the League of Nations. However, he also makes it clear in his letter to Albert Einstein (Vienna, September, 1932), entitled *Why War?*, that the League of Nations would be more effective if member states granted it the power to invoke sanctions on errant states, rather than limiting its mandate to voluntary moral commitments and a spirit of good-will between states (*Why War?*, 1985e, p.354)¹⁰. Similarly Freud believed that a conscience-building rôle for the League of Nations is possible if two conditions are met:

“...the creation of a supreme agency and its endowment with the necessary power. One without the other would be useless. The League of Nations has no power of its own and can only acquire it if the members of the new union, the new States, are ready to resign to it...The institution of the League of Nations would, however, be wholly unintelligible if one ignored the fact that here was a bold attempt such as has seldom (perhaps, indeed, never on such a scale) been made before. It is an attempt to base upon an appeal to certain idealistic attitudes of mind the authority (that is the coercive influence) which otherwise rests on the possession of power” (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.354).

Freud's description of the rôle of the League of Nations, as a catalyst for social cohesion between states, corresponds to the rôle of the 'cultural superego'. Freud extrapolates, implicitly, the concept of the 'cultural superego' to the inter-state level. Consistent with his theory of how individuals socially cohere within groups, Freud reasons that if lasting social bonds are to be forged between state actors then “the compelling force of violence and the emotional ties (identifications is the technical name)¹¹ between its members” must exist. If

¹⁰ In fact, only three years after Freud made these comments his impressions would seem to have been confirmed. When Italy attacked Ethiopia, in 1935, the League of Nations invoked its instrument for collective security under Article 16 of the Covenant. However, these legal provisions were not enough to deter Italy's aggression. In the end the main powers of the League, Great Britain and France, were not prepared to force Italy to reverse its actions. Morgenthau feels that their resolve to uphold the aims of collective security were half-hearted and inconsistent; the supranational principles of the League of Nations which embodied 'the common good for the community of nations' proved, in practice, to be a débâcle in the history of collective security (Morgenthau, 1985, pp.457-58). Freud's comments proved to be prescient: the member states were not willing to sacrifice their national foreign policy interests in order to respect their prior commitments to the League.

¹¹ Freud's parenthesis.

one of these factors is absent, the community might possibly be held together by the other” (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.354). In addition, he notes that:

“The ideas that are appealed to can, of course, only have significance if they give expression to important affinities between the members and the question arises of how much strength such ideas can exert” (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.354).

Moreover, Freud notes that ‘ideas held in common’ have facilitated cohesion between state actors in other historical periods. For example, he observes that the social bonds between the Greek city-states were strengthened by the Panhellenic idea: “the sense of being superior to the surrounding barbarians” (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.354). The idea of superiority was so powerful in Ancient Greece that it was formally declared in several institutions: the Amphictyonic Council, the Oracles, and the Games. While Freud accepted that the Panhellenic idea was powerful enough that it was able to forge a community feeling, this alone was not enough to mitigate against “warlike disputes between the different sections of the Greek nation or even to restrain a city or a confederation of cities from allying itself with the Persian foe in order to gain an advantage over a rival”¹² (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, pp.354-355). Likewise, Freud points out that Christianity provided a unifying force between European states during the Renaissance. Yet, Christian sentiments were not sufficiently strong to prevent “Christian states, whether large or small, from seeking the Sultan’s aid in their wars with one another”¹³ (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.355).

Freud’s historical examples imply that if the socialising effects of a ‘cultural superego’ were to be possible in the international sphere, as well, the ‘collective individuals’ called states must provide for both the punitive and sociable aspects of socialisation, which were outlined in

¹² Freud is referring here to the Peloponnesian War of 431-411 B.C.E. between Athens and Sparta. The Spartans signed a series of treaties with the Persian King during their struggle against Athens. As Freud notes, Persia represented one of the traditional ‘barbarian’ enemies of the Greek city-state system. Therefore, the shared norms between members of the Greek city-state system did not prevent the alliance between two traditional enemies i.e. Sparta and Persia.

When Freud alludes to alliances of Greek city-states and nations he is referring to the Peloponnesian and Delian Leagues. Sparta started to form alliances with several Greek city-states in the sixth century B.C.E.; these alliances represented the pre-history of the Peloponnesian (Spartan) League (Finley, 1972, pp.607, 618). During the war between Athens and Sparta, the Peloponnesian League, under Sparta’s direction, fought against the Delian League led by Athens (Stern, 1995, p.51).

¹³ Freud is, presumably, referring to the diplomatic agreements between France and the Ottoman Empire during their struggle with the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs. The conflict lasted from the French invasion of Italy in 1494 until the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714. The foreign policies of Richelieu and Louis XIV included military alliances with Sweden, Poland, the Ottomans, and the ‘other side of Germany’ in order to torment the Hapsburgs (Watson, 1985, p.64).

the last chapter¹⁴, in the establishment of international institutions such as the League of Nations. As explained in the first part of this chapter, Freud believed that law evolved out of a system of brute violence. In order to increase the likelihood that states would respect their associations with one another, based on shared values, the institutions of both domestic and international society should be backed up by the capacity to administer punitive sanctions.

2.5.0. State Aggression

Freud explains in his essay *Why War?*, written in 1932, that he did not think that any system of twentieth century political thought which relied solely on man's co-operative nature alone, provide a 'unifying authority' between states, and thereby guarantee ever-lasting peace. For example, he did not believe that Communist ideas would be able to end all wars if only they could gain universal acceptance: 'fearful civil wars' would ensue on the path towards the Communist universe¹⁵ (Freud, 1985e, p.355). Freud's impressions, concerning the relations between states, reflect the dialectical tension of the 'id-ego-superego' model: in other words, humans are capable of high levels of co-operation without conflict, yet, he doubts that the complete elimination of aggressive 'egoism' is possible.

“We are told that in certain happy regions of the earth, where nature provides an abundance of everything that man requires, there are races whose life is passed in tranquillity and who know neither coercion nor aggression. The Russian Communists, too, hope to be able to cause human aggressiveness to disappear by guaranteeing the satisfaction of all material needs and by establishing equality in other respects among all the members of the community. That, in my opinion, is an illusion. They themselves are armed to-day (sic) with the most scrupulous care and not the least of the methods by which they keep their supporters together is hatred of everyone beyond their frontiers...In any case...there is no question of getting rid entirely of human aggressiveness; it is enough to divert them to such an extent that they need not find expression in war” (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, p.358).

In this quotation Freud suggests that state actors, such as the 'Russian Communists', displace tensions which build up within the group to those outside of their 'frontiers'. This is another example where Freud abstracts his methodology from the individual to the collective level. He suggests that the group-person like the individual 'organism' might relieve itself of aggressive 'id' impulses by displacing them to objects outside of itself. Furthermore, he

¹⁴ The sociable aspects of the 'superego' assumed a basically benevolent aspect to man's nature, whereas the coercive aspect of 'superego' control presupposed an aggressive, anti-social aspect to man's make-up.

¹⁵ Freud was apparently aware of the intense civil conflict that ensued after the Russian Revolution when the Red Army was locked in combat with Anti-Bolshevik forces on fourteen different fronts (Stern, 1995, p.22).

accepts that society is able to divert individual and collective aggression, but at the same time he doubts whether violence could be extinguished completely.

2.5.1. State Aggression and 'The Will to Power':

Freud's writings concerning conflictual inter-state, and individual, relations correspond to the 'id-ego' axis of his psychological map. Freud's description of brute force and violence between state-actors coincides with his above-mentioned description of the first and second phases of human political association: state relations like human relations in the original state of nature were governed by the quest for power and domination. He believed that as long as many states try to dominate others by means of force, and "so long as there exist countries and nations that are prepared for the ruthless destruction of others, those others must be armed for war" (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, pp.358, 361). Here Freud implies that weak states, like persons in the second stage of his social contract theory, were compelled to arm themselves or band together (*L'union fait la force*) in order to defend themselves against the brute force of dominant, i.e. militarily powerful, states. Therefore, Freud insinuates that violence erupted, on an episodic basis, between states as the strong tried to gain absolute obedience from the weak, and conversely as the weak banded together to reject such modes of social control. In effect, Freud infers that violence is not a perpetual occurrence in a state of nature between states or persons: violence only occurs when patterns of domination shift, or conversely, when the weak rebel.

This pessimistic aspect of Freud's model of human psychology has been compared, by Dannhauser, to Nietzsche's concept of the 'will to power': Freud's notion of the 'id' is equated with Nietzsche's 'it' (Dannhauser, 1987, p.844). Furthermore, in Freud's primitive political group, i.e. the original state of nature (see above), the strong dominated the weak, just as aggressive states, empires and other political units have asserted themselves over weak ones throughout the course of history¹⁶ (Freud, *Why War?*, 1985e, pp.350, 353). Likewise, Nietzsche speaks of a similar mode of domination between humans in his book *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*,

"That the weaker should serve the stronger, to that it is persuaded by its own will, which would be master over what is weaker still...my will to power walks on the heels of your will to truth" (Nietzsche, 1980, pp.226-227).

¹⁶ Kaufmann explores the possible influence of Nietzsche's ideas on Freud's system of thought in chapter 50 of his book *Discovering the Mind* (1980, pp.264-274). Nietzschean thought was fashionable in the intellectual world of the 1890s when Freud developed psychoanalysis, and Kaufmann observes that there are some similarities between Freud's 'depth psychology' and Nietzsche's philosophy (Kaufmann, 1980, pp.265, 270). In fact, Freud stated in an interview in 1926 that "Nietzsche was one of the first psycho-analysts. No one has recognized more profoundly the dual motives of human conduct..." (Kaufmann, 1980, p.275).

In summary, in Nietzsche's system of thought, as defined in Zarathustra's speech on "Self Overcoming" (1980) the exercise of power determines the universal fate of men: they will either command or be obedient to their masters (Dannhauser, 1987, p.843).

Nietzsche's 'pessimistic' observation that it is in man's nature that the strong control the weak by absolute domination, and that this is the primary basis of social cohesion, would seem to correspond to the coercive and punitive aspects of Freud's 'superego': in both models of social cohesion man's relations are conditioned by the power of the strong who try to obtain absolute obedience from the weak. Similarly, in Freud's 'primitive' social grouping men were made to socially cohere via coercion by a leader who relied on his 'physical' or 'intellectual', i.e. the ability to construct destructive weapons, superiority. Besides, it is evident from Freud's above-mentioned comments, in his essay *Why War?* (1985e), about inter-state domination and rivalry, that he believed that the social cohesion between political groupings, such as states, follows the same stages of socialisation as individuals within society: Freud implies that international society as a 'primitive' society is characterised by recurrent warfare as the strong dominate the weak, and as the weak rebel, on a sporadic basis, against these forceful, absolutist forms of social control.

Thus, in summary, a pessimistic, Nietzschean-like component in Freud's political thought counterbalances the cosmopolitan, co-operative, Kantian features described above, and is consistent with his 'id-ego-superego' view of human behaviour¹⁷.

2.5.2. Controlling State Aggression

Freud's ideas on the control of state aggression are also analogous to his account of individual socialisation. As civilisation develops, and humanity evolves into the final phase of political community, i.e. the formation of a social contract, men accept the need to co-operate and to internalise their aggressive natures: absolute political coercion is supplemented by institutions which emphasise the benevolent and ethical side of man.

For example, according to Freud's writings social institutions, such as the state, ensure that individual aggression is internalised: the development of a conscience for one's fellow man involves the imposition of restrictions on individuals so as to prevent them from directing aggressive feelings, at will, to other individuals or objects. In this way "civilization...obtains mastery over the individual's dangerous desire for aggression by weakening it and by setting up

¹⁷ Nietzsche's system of thought is also evident in the psychoanalytic ideas of Alfred Adler who used the psychoanalytic notion of the 'ego' to develop the concepts of superiority, inferiority, and power relations (Adler, 1965).

an agency to watch over it, like a garrison in a conquered city”¹⁸ (Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, 1985a, pp.315-316). Likewise, in inter-state relations a ‘civilising’ agency, i.e. an international institution such as the League of Nations, is called for because “whatever fosters the growth of civilization works at the same time against war” (Freud, 1985e, *Why War?*, p.362). Apparently, Freud felt that states could be socialised and ‘civilised’, like individuals in domestic society, via a combination of moral and punitive aspects of the ‘cultural superego’.

To summarise, even though Freud professed the existence of an aggressive, anti-social side of human psychology, his belief in the socialising effects of community meant that war and violence were not a perpetual phenomenon; the normative systems of ‘civilised society’ had the ‘potential’ to pacify, if not completely eliminate, the ‘egoistic’ behaviour of both men and collective men, i.e. states.

2.6.0. Collective Neuroses and Defence Mechanisms

The previous section showed how Freud combined the idea of the ‘collective individuals of mankind’ with his socio-psychological view of human nature. He analysed the social and political behaviour of states ‘as if’ they were individual persons.

Thus far, this chapter has concentrated on Freud’s texts on socio-political matters, but it should not be forgotten that these articles comprised a small part of his life’s work. Most of Freud’s writing was devoted to the description of psychological disorders, which were of interest, particularly, to the medical community. In his essay *The Claims of Psycho-Analysis to Scientific Interest* (1913) Freud describes “psycho-analysis [as] a medical procedure which aims at the cure of certain forms of nervous disease (the neuroses) ¹⁹ by a psychological technique” (Freud, 1955a, p.165).

Although, Freud’s psychoanalytic hypotheses proved invaluable to the medical field of psychiatry, he makes it clear, in the above-mentioned essay, that these tools could be of interest to the ‘Non-Psychological’ sciences as well (Freud, 1955a, p.176). Even though Freud thought that the clinical findings of psychoanalysis could be useful in the areas of philosophy,

¹⁸ Kaufmann (1980, p.273) observes that Freud’s notion of internalised aggression resembles a similar Nietzschean idea. Nietzsche in his essay “Guilt, Bad Conscience, and the Like” in his book *Genealogy of Morals* (Nietzsche, 1969, p.84) observes that “All instincts that do not discharge themselves outwardly *turn inward*-this is what I call the *internalization* of man: thus it was that man first developed what was later called his ‘soul’”. However, unlike Freud, Nietzsche did not abstract this particular concept to the inter-state level of analysis.

¹⁹ The mildest of these psychiatric disorders include the neuroses, while more debilitating psychological disturbances are classified as psychoses.

sociology, and cultural, i.e. anthropological, studies (Freud, 1955a, pp.176-90), it is less clear whether he felt that his system of psychopathology, i.e. the description of psychological disorders, might also be employed to describe the socio-political behaviour of groups such as states. Could group-persons also show signs of neuroses and psychoses? In his essay, *Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices* (1907) he seems to answer partially this question. In this article Freud claims that religious practices resemble the behaviour of individuals suffering from obsessive neuroses²⁰. He believed that the ceremonials of religious life resembled obsessive actions, and, “in view of these similarities and analogies one might venture to regard obsessional neurosis as a pathological counterpart of the formation of a religion, and to describe [obsessionality] as an individual religiosity and religion as a universal obsessional neurosis” (Freud, 1959c, pp.117, 126-27). Therefore, Freud draws parallels between the individual and society by claiming that a social institution like religion betrays signs of a clinical neurosis (Roazen, 1968, p.129). Furthermore, in *Totem and Taboo*, Freud comments on the obsessional nature of primitive taboos,

“This single comparison between taboo and obsessional neurosis is enough to enable us to gather the nature of the relations between the different forms of neurosis and cultural institutions, and to see how it is that the study of psychology of the neuroses is important for an understanding of the growth of civilization...the neuroses are asocial structures...their most fundamental purpose is to take flight from an unsatisfying reality...To turn away from reality is at the same time to withdraw from the community of man” (Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, 1955b, pp.73-74).

Since Freud thought that religious groups might display signs of psychological disorders, did he also believe that it was possible that other large-scale group-actors, such as the state display signs of a psychiatric disorder? The answer would seem to be, yes. In a memorandum sent to a medical colleague, in 1895, he abstracts the psychiatric symptom of paranoia to the nation-state level²¹,

“The *grande nation* [i.e. France] cannot face the idea that it can be defeated in war. *Ergo* it was not defeated; the victory does not count. It provides an example of mass paranoia and invents the delusion of betrayal” (Freud, 1966a, p.210).

²⁰ Freud’s definition of obsessive neuroses is a standard psychiatric description of the disorder. The condition consists of “neurotic ceremonials [which] consist in making small adjustments to particular everyday actions, small additions or restrictions or arrangements, which have always to be carried out in the same, or in a methodically varied, manner” (Freud, 1959c, pp.117-18). As Freud explains, the repetition of these ritualised actions can become quite disabling for the individual when taken to extremes.

²¹ It is of interest to note that this memorandum was written at a very early stage in Freud’s research into psychiatric disorders (Strachey, 1958, p.4). Thus, this brief comment about the Franco-Prussian War was written before any of his major works on politics, war, or religion, and he had not yet developed the ‘id-ego-superego’ paradigm. Therefore, before he had made any of his major psychoanalytic discoveries Freud was already abstracting psychiatric concepts from the individual to the collective level.

In this quotation Freud is referring to the “aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870” (Freud, 1966a, footnote 1, p.210), in which France lost the territory of Alsace Lorraine. In the essay from which this excerpt is taken Freud discusses the psychiatric condition of paranoia. Freud, evidently, felt that France as ‘*la grande nation*’ felt shamed by its defeat, and thus, resorted to what he calls ‘mass paranoia’ and ‘a delusion of betrayal’ in order to defend its collective pride in face of its defeat.

Therefore, the extension of psychiatric and psychoanalytic concepts to the collective level-of-analysis is apparent in Freud’s works. Similarly, in his book *Moses and Monotheism* Freud alludes, albeit briefly, to the value of an analogy between individual and mass psychology,

“It is not easy to translate the concepts of individual psychology into mass psychology, and I do not think that much is to be gained by introducing the concept of a “collective unconscious”²² ...so in the meantime the use of analogies must help us out. The processes we study here in the life of a people are very similar to those we know from psycho-pathology, but still they are not quite the same” (Freud, 1939, p.208).

Besides assigning psychiatric diagnoses to the behaviour of states, in the same way he did for religious groups, Freud also suggests that psychoanalytic defence mechanisms²³ could be used to analyse inter-state behaviour,

“...it would seem that nations still obey their passions far more readily than their interests. Their interests serve them, at most, as *rationalizations* for their passions; they put forward their interests in order to be able to give reasons for satisfying their passions. It is, to be sure, a mystery why the collective individuals of mankind should in fact despise, hate and detest one another-every nation against every other-and in times of peace” (Freud, *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, 1985d, pp.75-76).

Herein, Freud seems to indicate that the state’s expressions of collective interest, i.e. national foreign policy interests, represent a rationalisation for their anti-social actions, i.e. passions. This is the same context in which the concept is used in individual psychology and psychoanalysis: rationalisation describes a mechanism of defence whereby the individual’s

²² Freud’s comment about the “collective unconscious” is obviously directed at Jung. Freud’s disagreement with Jung focused on Jung’s mysticism, and consequently, he aimed to refute the Jungian strand of ‘religiosity’ in the field of psychoanalysis (Roazen, 1968, pp.161-62).

²³ Defence mechanisms in psychoanalysis are techniques by which the reality-oriented ‘ego’ deals with the anti-social demands of the ‘id’, the socio-cultural pressures of the ‘superego’, past memories, and social input from the outside world. The ‘ego’ attempts to balance all of these psychological inputs in order to maintain full awareness and adaptation to his ‘objective reality’. These psychological defences represent methods that the individual’s psyche can use to reduce levels of personal anxiety, i.e. fear and insecurity. (Schwartz et al., 1974, p.500)

'ego' justifies a person's behaviour in socially acceptable terms, in order to hide the anti-social or unacceptable motive behind the action (Morgan, 1971, p.377; Schwartz, 1974, p.501). Therefore, Freud implies that states justify overt aggression against other states, for example, by disguising their socially unacceptable actions in terms of the national interest. Though this example of 'state' rationalisation represents a fleeting interpretation of state foreign policy it does help to illustrate Freud's attitude towards state behaviour, because it draws direct parallels between individual and collective, i.e. state, psychology. Whereas, in other sections of Freud's work one could infer this connection, in this example the parallel is openly stated. Furthermore, since Freud implies that states are capable of expressing collective emotions such as 'hate' and using defence mechanisms to justify their behaviour, then, in addition, it seems logical to assume that his psychological system of thought may be useful to analyse the collective actions of state-actors.

2.7.0. Summary

This chapter has attempted to outline Freud's political and social thought, and also to demonstrate how these ideas were consistent with the prevailing climate of political and social philosophy that he was exposed to. Freud's political philosophy contains elements of realism, rationalism, and idealism; in other words, his comments on political and social matters reflect both a concern for cosmopolitan norms and the pro-social interactions between men, the rational, i.e. the logic-seeking and reasoning aspects of human psychology, as well as an understanding of the anti-social aspects of collective man's behaviour. In this sense, his social and political views would seem to parallel his tripartite 'id-ego-superego' model.

In summary, three major themes are evident in Freud's analysis of social and political matters. First, man's social and political evolution is consistent with a specific psychological map of human behaviour, i.e. Freud's 'id-ego-superego' structural topography. This paradigm provides a methodology by which the actions of individuals and collectivities can be analysed. These ideas are embodied in the core constructs of psychoanalytic thought. Furthermore, elements of Freud's clinical psychology, which aim to describe particular 'individual' psychological disorders, may have some relevance in the analysis of the actions of social institutions and groups. Although in Freud's social discourses the extrapolation of this methodology to the group level is never explicitly stated, it is always implied. Secondly, Freud's views on topics such as state social cohesion, inter-state violence, group norms, totems and taboos, international institutions and morality are an extension of his psychoanalytic thesis. The basic premise that Freud makes when he analyses the psychological features and actions of collectivities, 'as if' they were individual persons, is that the state is a 'group actor' possessing a 'group mind'. This tradition of thought is consistent with the 'social organism' and 'group

mind' ideas of other political philosophers such as Rousseau, Comte, Hegel, Le Bon, and Durkheim. Even if Freud does not directly acknowledge these theorists²⁴ as contributing to his ideas, the structure of his arguments reflects a certain climate of European intellectual thought of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thirdly, Freud's anthropological, sociological, and political analysis cuts across different cultures, and is applied to different historical periods. The breadth of his analysis is consistent with his belief (see the introduction to this chapter) that a psychological analysis based on the 'id-ego-superego' topography transcended cultural and historical boundaries.

Finally, Freud's political and social commentaries would seem to parallel the conclusions and observations of the previous chapter, where the political philosophies from three different civilisations were correlated with the 'id-ego-superego' paradigm. Although Freud did not delve into the political philosophies of the European tradition, or Ancient civilisations, such as the Chinese or Indian, the present chapter has shown that Freud's own writing on political and social affairs, while limited, would seem to have applied his tripartite psychological topography to the relations between group-actors such as states. Furthermore, his analysis is both trans-historical and trans-cultural.

In conclusion, it seems obvious that Freud was interested in international affairs, and that he made some pertinent observations. However, he only makes fleeting references to the state; his synthesis between the individual and state levels of analysis does not take into consideration other academic works in the field, and he only cites a few brief historical examples to back up his views on international politics. Freud does not elaborate a explicit theory of the state and its institutions and therefore, his view of international politics seems incomplete. The remainder of this thesis attempts to develop these ideas further within the specialised discipline of International Relations. Moreover, this thesis does not claim to be completing a task which Freud would have done himself if alive. In this sense, this dissertation takes Freud's ideas into areas of intellectual endeavour which were not foreseen by Freud himself, even if he did seem to have show some interest in the general topic of International Relations.

Furthermore, the following chapters will extrapolate psychoanalytic methodology to the level of state and non-state groupings. Chapter Three will use the psychoanalytic principles developed in the first two chapters, in order to propose and develop a psychoanalytic theory of international society. This approach expands Freud's individual-collective analogy of group and

²⁴ Freud gives credit only to Le Bon. Nevertheless, the fact that Freud studied philosophy and logic in Vienna before entering the fields of neuroscience, psychiatry, and medicine (Ramzy, 1977, p.25), and was also interested in international affairs generally, suggests that his social and political opinions were shaped by, at least, some awareness of the major philosophers of his time.

state behaviour. The remainder of this thesis attempts to build on Freud's assumptions by abstracting his psychoanalytic study of the individual in society to the level of the state collectivity and other political groups, for example stateless national groups. The methodology to be used was originally designed to analyse individual clinical cases and, in effect, the methods designed for the 'micro', i.e. individual, level are extrapolated to a 'macro', i.e. group, level in order to illustrate the behaviour of the state within a society of state actors.

Chapter Three: A Psychoanalytic Study of International Society

3.0.0. Introduction:

“It is in some ways the similarity, rather than the difference between a society of states and one of individuals which is striking. The fact that the behaviour of states...resembles that of individuals need not surprise us...the psychology of nations, i.e. states, often mirrors that of individuals” (Luard, 1988, pp.23-24).

The last chapter mapped out a general scheme of Freud’s political and social thought. An analysis of Freud’s various manuscripts showed a correspondence between his psychological theories of groups, such as states, and individuals. Likewise, in the modern international relations literature it is common to find comparisons between the actions and behaviour of individuals and states, as Luard’s above-mentioned comments reveal.

Many other prominent international relations theorists, such as Manning, Niebuhr, and Carr, also assume that the state is some sort of ‘group-person’ or social ‘organism’. Of course, there are no grounds to assume that any of these theorists had any knowledge or interest in psychoanalytic theory. However, it will be useful to outline some of their ideas in order to show how their concepts could be integrated into a psychoanalytic perspective of international society. Therefore, at the beginning of this chapter, the general idea of the state as a ‘group-person’ in international relations will be explored by referring to the work of several theorists. Following this analysis, a summary of the major tenets of the English-international society-school of international relations will be highlighted. At the end of this introductory section, psychoanalytic thought will be equated with some of the major assumptions of the international society approach.

A major hypothesis of the international society school, especially Hedley Bull, is that the international system represents an ‘anarchical’ society, one where some semblance of order is maintained without a central government vested with coercive powers. However, such an anarchical society, it will be contested, is not a unique phenomenon. It will be argued that twentieth century ‘gang’ societies represent informal domestic societies, where some semblance of order is maintained by similar social mechanisms, which scholars, such as Hedley Bull, claim are typical of the anarchical international society. Although the domestic environment of the state is characterised by a centralised authority vested with coercive powers, certain societies, like gangs, attempt to de-link themselves from the authority of the state. Since the social interaction of gangs act ‘as if’ the state does not exist, they represent alternative forms of authority within the state.

The analysis of gangs is an important foundation for building a theory of group socialisation that may be of use in analysing the international system. The analysis of gang sociology will be fused into a method based on the psychoanalytic idea of society and ‘chaos’

theory, a methodology that describes the evolution, in human and other 'natural' systems, of 'order out of chaos'. By demonstrating that anarchical relations, and indeed societies, can exist inside and outside of the state it will be argued that psychoanalytic thought provides a conceptual bridge between the domestic and international *milieux*.

The concluding section tries to apply this methodology in order to examine the patterns of socialisation within some of the major international societies throughout history. An overview of social interaction within the major pre-modern, as well as modern European, international societies can be described using this transhistorical and transcultural psychoanalytic method.

3.1.0. The Group-Person in International Relations

To think of the state as a metaphoric person is a commonplace in classical political philosophy, as was seen in the last chapter, in international law, as well as in twentieth century international relations writing. To make an exhaustive survey of these metaphors in the international relations field would be pointless. Yet, it would be pertinent to emphasise some of the ideas of scholars such as Carr, Manning, Niebuhr, and Luard, because their analyses have been influential in the modern international relations discipline. Each of these writers employs an individual-collective analogy to explain specific behavioural features of the state.

Carr, in his book *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, suggests that a comparison between the individual and the collectivity is worthy of speculation,

"The fiction of the group-person, having moral rights and obligations and consequently capable of moral behaviour, is an indispensable instrument of modern society; and the most indispensable of these fictitious group-persons is the state. In particular, it does not seem possible to discuss international relations in other terms" (Carr, 1958, p.149).

For Carr, the personification of the state is a necessary fiction, a mere creation of the human mind, which was made possible through the creation of a system of international law. As a legal instrument this hypothesis allows the attribution to the state of a legal personality through which it assumes moral rights, duties, and obligations as an institutional actor on the international stage. Carr believes that it is futile to debate the truth or falsehood of concepts like 'state personality' because these are necessary social fictions that are required to think about international, i.e. inter-state, relations. In effect, Carr proposes that these abstract concepts are no more than useful tools. Furthermore, the personification of human institutions is not limited to states: for example, in the economic sphere joint-stock companies are also thought of as group-actors that assume certain corporate responsibilities in society (Carr, 1958, pp.148-151).

Carr notes that the actions of states, which are subject to such social constraints as international morality, are performed by statesmen, and others, who act and decide on behalf of fictional state-persons such as 'Great Britain' and 'Italy'. Yet, this does not mean that the 'moral behaviour' of states should be thought of as 'unreal'. So long as those that conduct international affairs continue to act as if the fictional state was real, the notion of the state as a group-person will remain a credible political tool in international affairs (Carr, 1958, p.152).

Manning, like Carr, resorts to the personification of the state on the basis of functional, i.e. practical, considerations: it is merely a 'socio-fact' that facilitates a discussion of international society, i.e. a society of states. Manning considers the state, in his discourse *The Nature of International Society*, to be a social map, and as such it is only an 'idea in men's minds' (Manning, 1962, pp.1-10, 23). The idea of a state behaving in a certain way is only a notional concept; actions and reactions are imputed to a socially contrived being called a state. Likewise, other collectivities, for example banks, are represented as entities that enter into relationships with other banks. As such states and banks are legally reified collective persons. In essence the state is an *apparat*, an institutional structure (Manning, 1962, pp.6, 8, 22, 24). According to Manning's analysis, when one speaks about entities such as states as persons one utilises an holistic methodology¹. For example, Manning uses an holistic frame of reference when he notes that states may behave like psychiatric patients,

"Like a certain type of psychiatric sufferer, a state may have more 'faces' than one. And indeed it normally does. A charm which is switchable-on this morning may be switchable-off this afternoon. And, like an improvement, so also a deterioration, in the relations between the states, may not be slow to have its effect upon the relations between the peoples" (Manning, 1962, p.70).

Therefore, Manning's state actor "is a person, a notional person" (Manning, 1962, p.35).

Niebuhr's analysis of the state-person, in his work *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, takes on a more psychological hue than Carr's and Manning's. He extends the concept of individual 'egoism', i.e. self-centredness, to psychological processes in which group actors, such as states, act out their selfish ambitions and motives in their respective relationships with other groupings,

"In every human group there is less reason to guide and to check impulse, less capacity for self-transcendence, less ability to comprehend the needs of others and therefore more unrestrained egoism...it is merely the revelation of a collective egoism, compounded by the egoistic impulses of individuals, which achieve a more vivid expression and a more cumulative effect when they are united in a common

¹ Manning contrasts methodological holism to collectivism and individualism. For example, one may introduce his family (Holism), the members of my family (Collectivism), or each member of his family (Individualism). According to Manning's definition, when the state is referred to as a person, this is an example of conceptual holism (Manning, 1968, p.39).

impulse than when they express themselves separately and discretely” (Niebuhr, 1941, p.xi-xii).

The fundamental theme of Niebuhr’s view of group psychology concurs with the realist domain of political thought: he assumes that group relations, as between states, can never be as ethical as those between individuals (Niebuhr, 1941, p.83). For Niebuhr the reality of ‘collective egoism’ is more stark and disturbing than individual egocentricity, because the task of “moral and rational suasion and accommodation” is bound to be more difficult when a social system must deal with inter-group relations (Niebuhr, 1947, p.xxiii), such as between large groups as embodied in states.

In addition, Niebuhr’s personification of the state attributes to it a ‘mind’ which, like the individual’s ‘mind’, functions to restrain selfish impulses. However, the state as a group actor only possesses an ‘inchoate’ mind. In other words, Niebuhr believes that the ability of governments, which act as a sort of group ‘mind’ to limit the selfish predilections of the members and groups that comprise the nation-state, are at best rudimentary and undeveloped, as compared to the individual person in society (Niebuhr, 1941, p.88). Therefore, Niebuhr’s conception of the national ‘mind’ is consistent with his pessimistic view of group behaviour.

Luard, as his above-mentioned comments reveal, stresses the socio-psychological similarity between individual behaviour and that of a social collectivity. In his books *International Society* (1990) and *Conflict and Peace in the Modern International System* (1988), he treats the society of states as if it were a ‘social organism’,

“Thus, all the types of social theory we have described have a direct relevance to the study of international society...As we have seen, all make certain assumptions about the nature of society. They presuppose that it represents a closely interrelated whole, not unlike a living organism, held in a kind of unity by the “solidarity” of its members...Society tends to be conceived as an entity, rather than the sum of its parts, an entity which is seen as having some independent existence of its own” (Luard, 1990, p.18).

Therefore, Luard’s analysis of inter-state relations takes place at the macro, i.e. holistic, level, and international society is considered to be a whole. In other words, collective actors such as states act within a social context, and their actions can be examined from a socio-psychological perspective (Luard, 1990, p.31).

In addition, Luard believes that states, like individuals, exhibit collective drives, but, at the same time he believes that this analogy has its limitations because, “some (the aggressive drives) may find expression in collective forms; others (the sexual drive) can be satisfied only in personal forms” (Luard, 1988, p.11). For instance, some states reveal a pattern of relentless aggressive behaviour, and to this extent resemble individuals suffering from psychological disorders,

“A national existence totally isolated from the international community may lead to a wholly unsocialised mentality (comparable to that of the isolated individual or feral child)...More common in recent international societies are nations which are isolated, feel unloved, and develop in consequence anti-social and aggressive tendencies: again there is a comparison with individuals, in the case of the mental state of the psychopath. To this category Japan at the beginning of the century, Germany between the wars, and perhaps Albania, North Korea, and South Yemen in recent years, could be held to belong” (Luard, 1988, p.6).

Moreover, like individuals, states are exposed to socialising influences, such as norms and legal precepts, which serve to inculcate a certain commonly accepted pattern of social behaviour within a community of state actors. In this context human collectivities, such as states, show that they are also capable of high levels of social co-operation, like their individual counterparts (Luard, 1988, pp.7, 14).

Thus, from Luard’s vantage point the social milieu of both the state and individual actors often provokes similar psychological reactions. Additionally, like individuals, states manifest collective drives, which embody the desires of the group, and also states enter into collective relationships which are as important to man’s well-being as individual relations (Luard, 1988, p.14).

3.1.1. The Collective ‘EGO’

Each of the international relations scholars cited in this section draws parallels between states and individual persons in order to analyse its actions, moral obligations, and patterns of socialisation. In this respect, their respective methodologies would seem to overlap in certain respects, which will be outlined below, with Freud’s way of philosophising about the state. However, this is not to imply that Freud’s work has influenced any of these scholars’ works.

Freud, as shown in Chapter Two, like Carr, wrote about the state as a ‘group-person’ having social responsibilities to other actors, by way of its commitments to various treaties and international law.

Moreover, Freud’s above-mentioned reference to states as “collective individuals of mankind” corresponds to Manning’s holistic methodology (see footnote one). Furthermore, both Manning and Freud assume that in its external relations the state functions as a social unit, and in this sense is comparable, at an holistic level of analysis, to a person *vis-à-vis* its behavioural attributes. Furthermore, Freud employs a detailed psychological system to analyse individual and collective behaviour; this system is similar to Manning’s notion of a ‘social map’.

In addition, Freud's state as a group-actor displays its collective 'egoism,' i.e. self-centredness,² for example, when it breaks its treaties and guarantees with other states and enters into war. In other words, the psychoanalytic concept of individual and state 'egoism' as social self-centredness and anti-social behaviour, describes the ego's disregard for social commitments in the independent pursuit of its own interest and advantage³: this could involve means such as the use of force as in war, or an indifference to societies' norms (Freud, *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, 1985d, pp.66-68, 69, 71; Freud, *General Theory of the Neuroses*, 1963a, p.417; *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 1985a, p.334). In this respect, it would seem that Freud's idea of state 'egoism' is comparable to Niebuhr's: both Freud's and Niebuhr's notion of 'egoism', for states and individuals, is the opposite of social 'altruism', which describes an actor's behaviour that conforms to the rules, punitive sanctions, and ethics of society (Freud, *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*, 1985d, p.69-71; *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 1985a, p.334). Yet, Freud's portrayal of state behaviour is not as uni-dimensional as Niebuhr's: in other words, in Freud's analysis the state, like the individual, has moral and normative commitments. Moreover, unlike Niebuhr, Freud thought that the relations between states, like individuals, could develop from their 'primitive' form to create a 'civilised' society, as will be recalled from the previous chapter. In this regard, Freud's analysis of the state has more in common with the evolution of Luard's International Society, than with Niebuhr's analysis.

Although Freud's way of looking at the state can be compared with many modern international relations scholars, none of these scholars make explicit reference to psychoanalytic theory. However, as mentioned, Luard's methodology does bear some resemblance to Freud's, especially his discussion of 'collective drives' and collective psychological disorders. Furthermore, Niebuhr's notion of 'collective egoism' correlates with the id-ego axis of Freud's psychological model. Also, Manning's psychiatric patient metaphor is compatible with a psychoanalytic examination of psychological disorders.

Freud's idea of the 'ego' seems to correspond to a interactive and negotiating function of the state *apparatus*: each of the international relations scholars cited in this section describes some sort of executive or 'mind' function for the state, whereby it negotiates for the state group-person its interactions with the external environment, i.e. the international system. This is precisely what Freud's notion of the 'ego' is in respect to individual behaviour.

² In this thesis the terms egoism, egocentric, egoistic, and egocentricity will be used interchangeably.

³ The idea of 'ego' interest in psychoanalysis refers to the ego's pursuit of self-preservation and security, or to its pursuit of other objectives such as pride, honour, material interests, and ethical/moral interests. These concepts will be elaborated in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Therefore, in summary, is it reasonable to postulate, just as Freud does for individual human beings, that the functions of the state *apparatus* ensures the adjustment, orientation, socialisation, and survival interests of the state-actor within a potentially hostile world? If this is plausible, it would also seem to follow that the *apparatus* of the state could be represented, conceptually, as a collective 'ego'. This is one crucial concept that Freud did not develop when he wrote about group psychology and state interaction. As the last chapter demonstrated, Freud extended many of his psychological concepts to the inter-group, and especially the inter-state, level. However, the idea of a collective 'ego' is missing from his analysis, although it is consistent with the rest of his thinking about inter-state relations. Nevertheless, the notion of a collective 'ego' is a concept that will be elaborated further in the remainder of the thesis, as a psychoanalytic approach to international relations is considered in more depth.

3.2.0. International Society

The international society approach⁴ has been an influential way, especially in Britain, of looking at international relationships. This section highlights some of the main theoretical features of an international society, and then correlates this methodology with the psychoanalytic system outlined in the previous two chapters.

3.2.1. Definitions

Stern provides a definition of international society that unites the two concepts, system and society. Furthermore, his definition of an international society includes other political units besides the 'modern' sovereign state. According to his explanation, the three factors required to form an international society are: autonomous political units, such as sovereign states, city-states, nations, principalities, or empires; a significant degree of interaction between these units, of a conflictual or co-operative nature, which serves to condition their respective behaviours, and an over-arching culture that helps form the normative system, standards of behaviour, and institutional structures that endure between the political actors (Stern, 1995, p.46).

⁴ The 'English school', comprising of scholars such as Bull, Northedge, Manning, James, Donelan and Wight, has been most associated with the international society methodology. Although these various writers converge around the idea of an international society, Sheila Grader believes that the notion of a school "is to see them as they did not see themselves" (Grader, 1988, pp.38, 42). On the other hand, according to Hidemi Suganami, the five themes that unite the school are: a belief in value-free enquiry, a dismissal of behaviourism, the use of institutional analysis as a sociological tool, a disapproval of utopianism, and an assumption that international relations is a separate academic discipline (Suganami, 1983, p.2363). Grader notes that these writers associate the idea of an institution with 'normativeness', which would seem to rule out the idea that the method is 'value-free' (Grader, 1988, p.38). In contrast to these scholars, Evan Luard (1990), in his book *International Society*, uses an 'holistic' socio-

Other theorists offer definitions of an international system, or society, that are variations on the same theme as Stern's. For instance, Northedge defines an international system, rather than a society, and he offers two meanings for this concept. First, an international system exists when there is 'conscious co-ordination' of relations between the constituent units. This implies that there is some kind of 'rational' direction from a central authority. He cites the UN charter, Article 1(4), as an example of the conscious harmonisation of actions of nation-states towards the realisation of a specific set of common ends. However, he notes that this co-ordination is more an aspiration than fact. The other meaning of a 'system' stresses the existence of an orderly and comprehensible set of relations between the various parts of a system, so that they make up a complex 'whole' (Northedge, 1984, pp.23-24).

Bull, in *The Anarchical Society*, makes a qualitative distinction between an international system and society. In an international society the degree of social cohesion is greater than in a system. A society of states are 'conscious' of certain shared interests, and possibly values, and to this extent, feel that their relations are bound by certain common rules of association. These common interests engender co-operation between the member states, and thus, they share in the operation of institutions, such as diplomacy, international law, the customs and conventions of war, and international organisations (Bull, 1977, p.13). Therefore, Bull's notion of system and society would seem to lie along a continuum of social cohesion: within an international system the degree of social co-operation is less than in a society.

Wight, in his book *Systems of States*, distinguishes between an 'international states system', which is comprised of sovereign states, and a 'suzerain-state system' where one state maintains effective control and supremacy over the others. On the one hand, in a 'state system' the political authorities of each state acknowledge no superior authority, and furthermore, each state must recognise this claim to total autonomy by all the others. On the other hand, in a suzerain states system one particular state asserts its authority, and thus dominates a group of weaker, dependent states; these other states accept the hegemon's exclusive claim to authority (Wight, 1977, pp.23-24).

3.2.2. An Anarchical Society

Hedley Bull refutes the 'Hobbesian' notion that a society can only exist if a centralised form of authority is present. Bull calls this doctrine the 'domestic analogy' which he describes as follows:

psychological method of looking at international society. His methodology is quite distinct from the other international society scholars cited above.

“...The argument from the experience of individual men in domestic society to the experience of states, according to which states, like individuals, are capable of orderly social life only if, as in Hobbes’s phrase, they stand in awe of a common power. In the case of Hobbes himself and his successors, the domestic analogy takes the form simply of the assertion that states or sovereign princes, like individual men who live without government, are in a state of nature which is a state of war” (Bull, 1977, p.46).

Clearly, claims Bull, the modern international system does not resemble an Hobbesian state of nature, even though there is no over-arching coercive authority to awe states into submission. Also, certain notions of right and wrong in international behaviour have developed along with the evolution of the European system of states; this too would not seem to be possible if one believes Hobbes’ treatise. According to Bull, the only feature of Hobbes’ state of nature that might apply to the international system is the existence of a state of war, in that states have displayed a disposition to go to war with each other (Bull, 1977, pp.46-48).

Yet, the assumption that orderly relations cannot exist in an anarchical system, i.e. one without central authority, does not take into account other sources of social coexistence based on “reciprocal interest, a sense of community will or general will, and habit or inertia” (Bull, 1977, p.48). Thus, Bull contends that centralised coercive power is not the only factor that promotes social cohesion and order and that Locke’s ‘state of nature’, which represents a society without government, offers a closer fit with international society,

“In modern international society, as in Locke’s state of nature, there is no central authority able to interpret and enforce the law, and thus individual members of society must themselves judge and enforce it” (Bull, 1977, p.48).

Therefore, Bull asserts that an international society can be held to exist, despite international anarchy, and is based on the shared interests of its constituent members (Bull, 1977, pp.48, 51).

3.2.3. Order in World Politics

The achievement of social order, in the context of an international society where authority is decentralised, is a main theme in Hedley Bull’s treatise, *The Anarchical Society*. The attainment of the elementary goals of social life, for example the material needs of its members, are made possible when some degree of social order is maintained. Humans, and their societies, are vulnerable to outbursts of violence, and this reality leads to common interests in restricting its occurrence. Therefore, order in any society “is maintained by a sense of common interests in those elementary or primary goals; by rules which prescribe the pattern of behaviour that sustains them; and by institutions which make these rules effective” (Bull, 1977, pp.53-54).

Like individuals in domestic society, states may derive a set of common interests from the “fear of unrestrained violence”, from a reciprocal calculation on the part of a group of states to limit their freedom of action, or from a set of common values (Bull, 1977, p.67).

The five main institutions of international society, according to Bull, that help maintain a degree of harmony between states are:

First, balance of power means that “a state of affairs such that no one power is in a position where it is preponderant and can lay down the law to others” (Bull, 1977, p.101)⁵. The balance of power involves the threat or use of military force in order to achieve an equilibrium of military power. Such a system exists when states collaborate to promote the common objective of maintaining the balance. An example of a working balance of power system was the “successive grand alliances of modern times [i.e. in the Post-Westphalian states’ system] against potentially dominant powers” (Bull, 1977, p.106).

Secondly, war as an institution of international society has functioned to maintain order through the enforcement of international law and the maintenance of the balance of power system (Bull, 1977, pp.188-189).

Thirdly, the management of an international system by great powers⁶ contributes to international order when they unite forces, via such mechanisms as a concert of powers, such as the Concert of Europe, to advance common policies. A great power may also, formally or informally, exert hegemony over lesser powers within a specific ‘sphere of influence,’ as exemplified by the Monroe doctrine (Bull, 1977, pp.201, 219-20, 225)

Fourthly, international law represents a ‘body of rules’ that binds states and other actors in the course of their international relations. To the extent that these rules influence the behaviour of states and other actors in world politics, they are a social fact, even though there is no sovereign power to enforce them (Bull, 1977, pp.127-130).

Fifthly, diplomacy acts to maintain social cohesion through the processes of negotiation, communication, and minimisation of friction between states. It also fulfils a symbolic function which helps to confirm the existence of a ‘society of states’ (Bull, 1977, pp.170-172).

Finally, although Bull does not include it in his list of international institutions, the principle of international morality is cited, by Stern for example, as a constraint on states in

⁵ Bull borrows Vattel’s definition of ‘balance of power’ from Vattel’s work *The Law of Nations* (1863, p.311) [English translation of original *Droit des Gens*.]

⁶ Bull defines a group of great powers as a club of states whose military capacities are comparable and not superseded by any other military force.

international society. International morality describes 'certain sorts of 'extra-legal' obligations thought to be incumbent upon the state in respect of its international dealings and to the supposed legitimacy of certain sorts of extra-legal claims made by the state upon other states' (Stern, 1973, p.134). For example, the concept of a "'world public opinion' as being both the spontaneous and organized expression of attentive publics on particular situations, has emerged, in the twentieth century, as an influential restraint in world politics, given that the publics agree on a specific policy" (Holsti, 1992, pp.329, 345). For instance, the humanitarian assistance to Ethiopia in the famine of 1984 is an example of such a charitable action borne out of widespread world public opinion. Thus, it can be argued that international morality represents another international institution.

These are the main 'institutions' which are commonly referred to by international society theorists when discussing social cohesion between state actors.

3.2.4. Psychoanalytic Theory and International Society

The definitions of an international society, cited above, treat states, and other political units, as 'holistic' actors. In addition, these political units are subject to normative influences that help to shape their behaviour *vis-à-vis* other 'actors.'

Freud, as will be recalled from the previous chapter, also analysed states 'as if' they were 'holistic' acting units within an institutional framework of social norms. Furthermore, Freud extended his socio-political analysis to other political units such as empires, cities, and nations, as does Stern in his definition of an international society. Yet, Freud did not present any detailed examination of international society or its institutions.

However, a psychoanalytic approach might be developed further, so as to provide a socio-psychological map of the structure of international society. For example, Freud's idea of a 'cultural superego'⁷, outlined in the previous chapter, would seem to correlate with the social functions of the six institutions of international society, described in the previous section. In other words, the 'cultural superego' describes a process of social cohesion whereby individual 'egoism' and ambition, such as violence, are subjected to the laws, moral standards, and norms of society, which facilitates the mutual interests of societies' members, and in this sense resembles Bull's description of social interaction in international society, in that the attainment of the 'elementary goals' of international society in Bull's analysis requires that states co-

⁷ For purposes of the following analysis, this concept describes: first, the norms, rules, moral values, and social symbols (e.g. social rituals, totems, etc.) which command the common respect and are valued by the members of a society; secondly, the system of punitive sanctions and communal punishments that a society employs to enforce its normative system. In effect, and as was explained in Chapter Two, the concept of the 'cultural superego' mirrors the 'ego-ideal' and coercive components of the 'superego', i.e. the social and moralising part of Freud's map of the human 'mind'.

operate with group norms, values, and rules, thereby constraining anti-social behaviour. Likewise, the rôle of international institutions, such as the balance of power, to restrict expressions of collective 'egoism' in international society, is summarised by Butterfield in his essay *The Balance of Power*,

"The element of egotism in state policy was clearly recognized all the time; but in so far as you were not being egotistical, you were supposed now to aim at the preservation of the international order, the maintenance of the balance of power. The principle did in fact prescribe limits to egotism and ambition, and the check did actually operate. It operated because it involved a more enlightened view of your own interests-it was a case of limiting your short-term objects for the sake of your long-term advantage. I wonder whether, along with Bismarck, perhaps Frederick the Great is not a remarkable example of a conqueror who-unlike Napoleon-accepted a principle of self-limitation, seeing in the long run, the importance of an international order, showing some solicitude for that order, and turning into something like a conservative statesman" (Butterfield, 1966, pp.140-141).

Butterfield's observations would seem to coincide with the psychoanalytic framework of analysis proposed herein⁸: if the state *apparatus* is depicted as a collective 'ego', for the state as a group-actor, interacting with other similar actors, an international institution such as the balance of power fulfils the social functions of the 'cultural superego' in that it limits the anti-social and self-centred tendencies of individual participants, i.e. states, in the system, in this case by coercive means.

Additionally, the other above-mentioned institutions of international society would seem to employ the mechanisms of social cohesion described by the 'ego-ideal' and coercive components of Freud's 'superego', in other words, each of the institutions of international society (war, balance of power, great power hegemony, international law, diplomacy, international morality) facilitate social cohesion, primarily, via physical coercion, voluntary social co-operation, or a mixture of both. In addition, the coercive and 'ego-ideal' aspects of 'superego' development both presume some degree of 'social altruism' from the members of a society i.e. they must be prepared to limit their claims to absolute autonomy for the common interests of society as a whole. Accordingly, each of these institutions can be placed somewhere along the coercive-'ego-ideal' continuum as follows:

First, the institutions of balance of power, great power hegemony, and war, rely, to varying degrees, on the use, or the threat, of physical coercion. Bull only includes war as an institution of international society to the degree that it might be used to enforce international

⁸ This is not to imply that Butterfield intended to use a psychoanalytic methodology when he wrote this description of balance of power.

law or a balance of power system (Bull, 1977, pp.188-89)⁹. The notion of war as a legal sanction of international society relies on the theory of *bellum justum*: in this sense a limited war is just if it acts as a reprisal against a State responsible for unlawful actions (Kelsen, 1961, p.331). For example, the balance of power system, which emerged in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Europe, relied on the threat or use of coercive techniques for its operation (Bull, 1977, p.106). Likewise, physical coercion in the Gulf war, declared on Iraq by a condominium of United States-led United Nations forces, in 1991, was, ostensibly, waged to uphold international law, after the legal sovereignty of Kuwait had been breached by Saddam Hussein's forces.

The preponderance of a great power over weaker ones often involves the threat of force, and the use of other forms of political coercion such as economic sanctions or the withdrawal of aid, in order to reinforce its hegemonic position. The great power may also be prepared to transgress, and thereby limit, the legal rights of sovereignty, independence, and equality in order to bring its client states into conformity with its system of rules. For example the 'Brezhnev Doctrine' of 'limited sovereignty', of 1968, re-asserted the control of the former Soviet Union over its Eastern satellites by way of military intervention (Bull, 1977, pp.215-219). However, Bull observes that in the long-term great powers can only fulfil their managerial functions if they are able to command legitimate respect from the other states under their tutelage; otherwise they risk alienating the 'lesser states' in international society (Bull, 1977, pp.227-229). To this extent, the mechanism of great power management establishes social bonds between a hegemonic state and a group of dependent states by a mix of common respect for the values of the system and compulsion.

Secondly, international law and diplomacy contribute to social cohesion in international society by a mixture of both coercive and consensual means, i.e. respect for the system of rules. Bull's observations would seem to support this conclusion: states obey the rules enshrined in international law because the law is thought to be of value; the threat of coercion, economic or physical, might act as a restraint on anti-social behaviour, and, states co-operate out of mutual interest, i.e. respect for certain social principles such as sovereignty, the keeping of promises, and the laws of war are seen to be mutually beneficial by states in international society (Bull, 1977, pp.139-140).

⁹ Bull acknowledges that international society has taken actions to outlaw war, but he also notes that international society has aimed to assign war a 'positive rôle' in maintaining international order (Bull, 1977, p.188). In this respect, the Covenant under Article 15, paragraph 6, of the League of Nations permitted war against other League members "for the maintenance of right and justice" (Kelsen, 1961, p.334); the United Nations Charter also makes provisions for war as a legal instrument (Bull, 1977, p.188). Also the Kellogg-Briand Pact prohibited war as a tool of national policy but did not outlaw it as a means of international policy, "especially not as a reaction against violation of international law [or] as an instrument for the maintenance and realization of international law" (Kelsen, 1961, p.334).

Likewise, diplomacy secures the social co-operation between states by a mixture of 'mild' compulsion and appeal to community interests. Yet, as Northedge observes, diplomacy relies more on the reasonable 'natures' of other states to respect the common rules of the game, than overt coercion. For example, Northedge describes diplomatic pressures, such as unilateral actions, third-party representations, 'reasoned' arguments, diplomatic boycott or rupture as the least coercive of the various political pressures by which states can secure international co-operation. According to Northedge's analysis, the success of diplomacy relies, largely, on the collective goodwill of states to negotiate, bargain, and finally co-operate amongst themselves (Northedge, 1976, pp.225, 229).¹⁰

Thirdly, international morality influences international co-operation by appealing to a sense of benevolence between states. This aspect of social cohesion between states is aptly described by Holsti in his book *International Politics* (1992),

"At times, foreign policies can demonstrate substantial charitable impulses, the commissioning of good works, and adherence to some notion of community standards... Humanitarian assistance to the Ethiopians, Sudanese, and Kurds... have been borne of sensitivity to the plight of people far away and of no immediate foreign policy interest" (Holsti, 1992, p.345).

The social order that results from international morality does not result from physical coercion, but rather, it seems that it emanates from the internalisation, i.e. acceptance and respect, of a code of ethics. In effect, this process most closely resembles Freud's theory of the evolution of the 'ego-ideal'. Evan Luard's observations concerning international morality would seem to agree with this idea,

"Communities may be restrained by *international morality*... So far such a code is only embryonic, both in scope of its provisions, and in the degree of respect accorded to it... An embryonic international morality none the less exists" (Luard, 1988, p.20).

In other words, states follow norms such as international morality to gain 'public approval' and 'self-respect' (Luard, 1988, p.20. In this respect, the social cohesion functions of international morality are almost identical to Freud's notion of the 'ego-ideal' (see footnote number nine).

Therefore, the relations between states are subject to social restraints which aim to limit anti-social behaviour by individual members. As explained above, these constraints, like Freud's description of 'superego' development in individuals, rely on means which can be situated along a continuum ranging from overt physical compulsion to a respect for community

¹⁰ Northedge, in his book *The International Political System* (1976), describes the various pressures which states can apply to each other. In this taxonomy of political pressures, diplomatic and judicial means employ the least compulsion, whereas, economic and physical sanctions are the most compulsive (Northedge, 1976, pp.225-249).

interests and values, which nurtures a sense of social consensus and co-operation. In this regard, a psychoanalytic map of international society, would describe social cohesion between states as relying on specific collective 'superego' mechanisms, i.e. the six institutions of international society described above, that help to shape the social interactions between states, and thereby restricting the 'collective egoism' of its constituent members. Furthermore, it would seem that states, like individuals, when they become part of an international society internalise the rules, social values, and norms, which in this thesis are represented by the idea of the 'cultural superego', within their respective societies. A similar concept is presented by Evan Luard, in *Conflict and Peace in the Modern International System* (1988),

“...The process of internalisation, by which individuals make social codes into personal convictions, does not take place so directly as in smaller societies...The rôle played in smaller societies by parents, peer-groups, and other reference groups in inculcating the code, in international society is largely eliminated. Their part is taken by impersonal agencies...and it takes place by indirect means...” (Luard, 1988, p.21).

In other words, Luard suggests that social norms are 'internalised' by state actors, analogous to the socialisation of the individual in social groups, in international society.

3.3.0. International Society as a Primitive Society

The previous section tried to establish socio-psychological parallels between the individual's socialisation in domestic society, and the state's in international society. Yet, the nature of authority in international society is decentralised, rather than centralised, as in a modern state, and is often quite unstable. This situation has been compared to the state of affairs in primitive tribal societies.

For example, as explained in Chapter Two, Freud discusses a parallel between primitive societies and one composed of states, and his remarks, in his essay *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death* (1985d, p.75), concerning the 'primitive' nature of the relations between states were cited; in this quotation Freud was referring to the evolution of inter-state social bonds. His observation implied that, like individuals in primitive tribal societies, a society of states tolerated greater degrees of 'egoism' than might be socially acceptable within a modern 'civilised' state. The social order in primitive societies was tenuous and temporary at best, and often fell apart into chaos, whereby power struggles ensued. Likewise, Freud infers that the unstable conditions of primitive tribal groups resemble the propensity of modern states to war with each other.

Also, in *The Anarchical Society* (1977), Hedley Bull makes a comparison between the modern anarchical international society and primitive stateless societies. Bull refers to anthropological observations of the Nuer and Dinka tribes, in the Sudan, in order to formulate a

comparison with modern international society. Also, he asserts that these two societies are similar in that they both lack central governments. Bull observes that:

“In primitive anarchical societies, as in international society, the relations between these politically competent groups are themselves circumscribed by a structure of acknowledged normative principles, even at times of violent struggles. But in both there is a tendency, during these periods of struggle, for the structure of rules to breakdown, and the society to fall apart to such an extent that the warring tribes or states are better described as a number of contending societies than as a single society...A given lineage group does not necessarily exercise exclusive authority over the persons of which it is composed” (Bull, 1977, pp.62-63).

The main differences between primitive societies and contemporary international society are that tribal lineage groups: are not politically competent as sovereign states, do not possess exclusive jurisdiction over precise territories as states do, are culturally homogeneous whereas [most] modern states are extremely heterogeneous, and have small populations compared to [most] modern state actors. According to Bull’s analysis, these elements of primitive anarchical societies allow for a much greater degree of social cohesion and solidarity as compared to the modern anarchical society of states (Bull, 1977, pp.63-65).

Besides, international law has been compared, by Kelsen for instance, to the legal codes in primitive societies. Kelsen observes that public international law is like primitive law because it does not have a specific organ, i.e. institution, which is designated with the responsibility of applying and enforcing legal norms, including punishments as required. The international legal order, analogous to primitive law, is a ‘self-help’ system, in which the individual, or state, whose legal rights have been transgressed is himself (itself) authorised to take action against the ‘wrongdoer’ by whatever means are sanctioned by the legal order (Kelsen, 1961, pp.338-339). In this sense, both the international and primitive legal orders are devoid of centralised legislatures and enforcement mechanisms by which the law can be enacted (Detter, 1993, p.26; Kelsen, 1961, p.338).

3.4.0. Gang Societies: An Anarchical ‘Domestic’ Society

Primitive tribes provide one possible analogue for the mechanisms of social order in the modern state system. However, as stated above, there are many areas where the two social systems are very different. An alternative prototype for the decentralised relationships of international society might be provided by gang societies. These groups: exist within the technological complexities of the modern ‘urban’ world, in parallel to ‘formal’ society; are socially heterogeneous¹¹; declare the right to rule certain circumscribed territories which

¹¹ Gangs for example, in America, have a diverse identity structure. For example, in a collection of essays about *Gangs In America*, edited by C. Ronald Huff (1990), Vietnamese, Chinese, Female,

they claim exclusive jurisdiction over; do not recognise any centralised authority to regulate their inter-group behaviour, and nominate structured political hierarchies to administrate the internal affairs of the social grouping. Moreover, the identities of these groupings can be based on ethnic, gender and/or economic principles. This section will refer to various anthropological and sociological studies of twentieth century gang societies, in America, in order to construct a comparison to the inter-group relations between state actors.

3.4.1. Gang Territoriality

Taylor describes territorial gangs, in his essay entitled '*Gang Imperialism*', that lay claim to a circumscribed space, i.e. territory. Once this right of title has been made by a gang, the next step is for the gang to defend its territory from any 'outsiders'. The territory is commonly referred to as '*turf*'. The members of the gang are recognised as the 'rulers' of this area and they strictly control it,

“In the streets, territorial law is more respected and feared than legal, traditional law. It is well known and accepted by most that gang law is, in fact, the law in that particular territory ...The word on the street to everyone: “This is gang territory-stay away”. Each street corner, dope house, salesperson, distributor, or customer and so on is part of the territory. Anyone who attempts to enter the territory becomes the invader, the intruder, the enemy...” (Taylor, 1990, p.107).

A traditional type of American gang was portrayed in the movie classic *West Side Story*: in this case territory was defined on the basis of ethnic boundaries (Taylor, 1990, p.108). This type of territorial, ethnic gang still exists in America. For example, Mexican-American gangs delimit a certain territory called a *barrio*; the identity structure of the *barrio* is ethnically determined. The attachment to the territory of the *barrio* runs deep; gang members refer to their area as '*mi barrio*' [my neighbourhood] (Moore, 1978, p.126).

Additionally, some gangs describe their *turf* 'as if' it were a separate nation-state,

“The only thing we can do is build our own little nation. We know that we have complete control in our community. It's like we're making our stand... We take pride in our little nation and if any intruders enter, we get panicked because we feel our community is being threatened. The only way is with violence” (Vigil, 1988, p.131).

Gang territory can be contiguous, but sometimes the 'space' that a gang calls its territory might be spatially separated. For example, in a classic study of a Chicago gang called the Vice Lords, Keiser made the following observations,

Fujianese, Mexican-American, Taiwan-Chinese, Korean, Chicano, Hong Kong Triads, and corporate gangs with no specific ethnic or gender make-up, only to name a few, are described.

“Any Vice Lord, regardless of clique, section, age group, or branch can go into any part of the territory controlled by the Vice Lord Nation and he will not be attacked by the Vice Lord group...Branch territory is not contiguous. Branches are spatially separated from one another both by territory and enemy clubs and by segments of the ghetto that are not controlled by any club...Section territories, unlike branch territories, are in some cases contiguous” (Keiser, 1969, p.22).

Therefore, gang territory is mapped out very precisely, even if the areas controlled by a gang are not necessarily adjacent geographically. In fact, in the late twentieth century with the advent of ‘windfall’ drug profits, high technology, and the power of organised crime, the idea of gang territory has been greatly expanded: gang territory can extend between states (i.e. of America) or, internationally (Taylor, 1990, p.108). Goldstein observes that many gangs in the late twentieth century fight, not only to maintain control of physical territory, but also economic turf (Goldstein, 1994, pp.16-17). Moreover, in their respective territories some American gangs have developed, in parallel to the state *apparatus*, a system for collection of ‘internal taxes’ from the inhabitants (*The Economist*, May 25, 1996, p.29).

In some gang-controlled areas more than one gang may vie for exclusive control of the territory in order to set up new communities,

“When two or more gangs claim control of a specific area, or when the area is occupied by a weaker gang, store owners within that territory have to pay more than one gang. Currently, Canal Street and East Broadway [in New York City], the rapidly expanding streets of Chinatown, have no single powerful gang that can claim exclusive sovereignty...When two or more gangs are active in a particular area and attempt to extort from the same victim simultaneously, street violence erupts as a result of the power struggle” (Ko-Lin Chin, 1990, p.143).

Therefore, the inter-group behaviour of gangs depends, to a large extent, on the assertion of a kind of political sovereignty, or group jurisdiction, which is recognised by a decentralised type of gang ‘law’. Also, the gang monopolises the instruments of force with which to defend its turf, if necessary. Moreover, physical coercion may also be used to expand a gangs’ territorial sovereignty to new regions. The monopoly of force and the claim of a certain population to a specific sovereign territory are also features of states within the modern international system. State territory, like gang territory, need not be geographically contiguous: a state can include entities “whose territory is scattered in parts, such as the oceanic imperial states of Western Europe, as well as states whose territory is a single geographical entity” (Bull, 1977, p.9). However, unlike gang society, in the twentieth century states were restricted by international law so that they could no longer, legally, expand their physical territory by forceful means. Yet, this rule has not always been respected: Germany’s absorption of Austria in the Anschluss of March, 1938, and the forced annexation of the Czech Sudetenland in October, 1938 (Palmer, 1990, p.193) are examples where this norm

was flagrantly breached. Furthermore, the above-mentioned tendency of gangs to expand into 'virgin' territory, formerly unoccupied by gang societies, resembles the idea of *res-nullius* in international law,

“All territory not in possession of states who are members of the family of nations and subjects of International Law must be technically *res-nullius* and therefore open to occupation. The rights of the natives are moral, not legal. International morality, not International Law, demands that they must be treated with consideration” (Lawrence, 1925, p.148).

This quotation suggests one obvious difference between gang and state societies: gangs do not recognise either the moral nor legal claims of the natives living in areas subject to their occupation. Yet, the final result of forced occupation would appear to be similar: neither barbarians whose lands were occupied by Western expansion, nor urban natives whose properties are claimed by gangs, are/were accorded rights of occupancy. Since their geographical space was not part of the conquering groups' domain, and the inhabitants were not part of the family of European, or for that matter gang, 'nations' unoccupied territories represent a sort of 'no man's land'.

3.4.2. The Vice Lord Nation

Gangs, besides declaring exclusive territorial rights, also set up an hierarchical chain of command, like nation-states, within the confines of their group. For example, the Vice Lord Nation consists of a federation of several gangs called branches ¹². Every 'branch' has its own territory, name, and offices. Each gang claims the autonomy of its members, offices, military forces, and territory—a sort of 'branch' sovereignty. The various independent branches of the 'Nation' all have seven main offices: president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, supreme war counsellor, war counsellor, gunkeeper, and sergeant-at-arms. The President is the chief executive officer, i.e. the highest authority, who conducts all meetings, ultimately decides whether to fight another group, and directs all warfare activities. In effect, as Keiser observes, the president “symbolises the group's power”, and for this reason in an attack enemy forces try to injure him. The next person in command, the Vice-President, does not have many formal duties assigned to him besides being the President's official assistant, and when the president is arrested he will stand in for him. Also, a branch 'War' Council is part of the overall governing structure, and is made up of the President, a supreme war

¹² The number of branch gangs is not fixed. Some gangs break up, new ones evolve and new gang groupings are formed by absorption and alliances (Keiser, 1969, p.13). Similar patterns in inter-state relations take the form of secession, irredentism, and re-integration. These phenomena in international society result in new states being formed and old ones being split up.

counsellor, and war counsellor. The War Council must sanction all decisions to fight by a majority vote. In the event of 'warfare' the Supreme War Councillor organises and leads the incursion; he will also call on the assistance of the offices of the gunkeeper and his sergeant-at-arms. The governing machinery of the gang extends throughout gang society: formal offices exist in the different branches, sections, and age groups, and semi-autonomous female auxiliary groups ¹³ (Keiser, 1969, pp.12, 16-17).

Although the separate gangs, i.e. branches, claim their respective autonomy, the gangs comprising the Vice Lord Nation acknowledge the 'seniority' of the City Lords gang¹⁴,

"...the leaders of the City [City Lords] called infrequent meetings of the entire Nation, decided what was going to be discussed, and ran the actual meeting. The members of the City [City Lords] were in charge of maintaining order. Although some branches may have been feuding, no fighting was allowed during these meetings" (Keiser, 1969, p.13).

Therefore, the City Lord group oversees the Vice Lord alliance in a position of hegemony over the other gangs, and their preponderance makes use of both coercive force, and the legitimate respect of the other groups. Accordingly, they are the largest group, and possess the most powerful military capability of any one subgroup, within the Vice Lord alliance, and thus, are able to guide other gangs from their position of strength. The capital of their territory, called Vice Lord City, acted as a meeting place for "all the Lords in the Nation". When other branches are formed, the new gang must first prove themselves to the leaders of the City Lords. In decisions applying to war involving all the branches (in pre-reform era: see footnote number 17), the president of the Vice Lords, theoretically, made the final decision (Keiser, 1969, pp.12-13). However, under a 'new' organisational arrangement an executive board, comprised of eight members from each of the major gang branches and backed up by a twenty member council from other gang branches, was created. The executive board and council resembles a kind of collective security system, made up of members from all the autonomous gang branches. According to the new arrangements the board was to provide an advisory rather than a decision-making rôle, but in matters of war the executive would make the final decision (Keiser, 1969, p.19).

¹³ Specific subdivisions of the Vice Lord Nation are made according to age groups. These formal subdivisions are referred to as 'Seniors', 'Juniors', 'Midgets', and some branches also have 'Pee Wee' divisions (Keiser, 1969, p.15).

¹⁴ According to Keiser's description this was the power political arrangement before an executive 're-organisation' between the groups (Keiser, 1969, p.19).

If interbranch conflict emerges within the Vice Lord enterprise a 'self-help' system of conflict resolution, that resembles the principle of a 'just war', exists to sort out the dispute. As in primitive law, when one side feels that it has been wronged, the decentralised legal order allows for a war of retaliation (Kelsen, 1961, pp.334-335). For example, when interbranch conflicts develop, alliances are formed with each of the sides in the conflict, often on the basis of friendship¹⁵. In the case of retaliations within the Vice Lord Nation, certain norms exist which limit the fighting to 'fists'. In the case of external warfare and reprisals against rival gangs there is no code limiting the use of weapons. Furthermore, while individual branch gangs may partake in intra-Nation fighting, when Vice Lord territory is threatened by an enemy gang the groups automatically unite against the common enemy (Keiser, 1969, p.14).

The study of social order amongst the Vice Lords presents many similarities to international society. For example, the common international 'legal' definition of state sovereignty consists of three criteria: "it must have a territory, a population, and organs to exercise effective control over both. Once such an entity is formed it has emerged as a State" (Detter, 1993, p.52). In this sense gangs resemble states, since they declare jurisdiction over a specific territory, and have a quasi-governmental structure that exercises effective control over a given population. Of course, this is not to claim that gangs are states; the practice of international relations between states demonstrates that other states must recognise an entity as a state before it can take part in the legitimate relations of states (Detter, 1993, p.53). However, this case study attempts to demonstrate that within the context of an anarchical social structure, gangs approximate the major 'qualifying' criteria of state actors more than primitive tribal groups, for instance.

Furthermore, the mechanisms of order between gangs within an alliance system, for example within the Vice Lord nation, and with other enemy gangs, overlaps with the order-maintaining devices in international society. The Vice Lord nation maintains a primitive type of law relying on a principle similar to *bellum justum*: there is a recognised code of retribution and reprisals against enemy gangs. Also, there are specific norms for the proper conduct of conflictual relations between gangs within the same social system, as outlined above; similarly, as noted earlier in this chapter, there are also principles for the conduct of war between states. The treatment of groups outside of the Vice Lord Nation in matters of warfare suggests a parallel to the attitude of 'civilised' European states to barbarians: the same rights and moral standards did not apply to groups outside of Anglo-Saxon civilisation (Wight, 1991, pp.55-66). In both systems, i.e. the European system before the twentieth century and inter-gang society,

¹⁵ Keiser describes one feud where the Madison and California Lords allied with the Monroe Lords, while the City Lords allied with the Maypole branch (Keiser, 1969, p.14).

groups exist outside of the mainstream 'society' who are not to be accorded the same rights, and therefore relations with these groups are not subject to the same set of rules.

Another parallel between the collective behaviour of states and gangs is the tendency for groups within an alliance system to pull together against a common enemy: Keiser described the willingness of rival gangs to forget their animosities toward one another in a spirit of common brotherhood in order to repel enemy advances. Similarly, the organising principles of international alliances presumes that states will co-operate when faced with a common adversary. It is also interesting to note that an enemy attack on the leader of a country, as with an attack on the President of a Gang branch, symbolises animosity to the entire collectivity.

In addition, the Vice Lord society recognised the hegemony of the City Lords: weaker gangs deferred to its decisions on major issues and conformed with its judgements. This system resembles Bull's description of a hegemonic state system, or, a closer parallel might be Wight's suzerain state system, because Bull limits his definition of great power management to a system with more than one hegemonic state, while Wight's suzerain system includes only one hegemonic power (Bull, 1977, p.200). However, unlike Wight's suzerain system, the preponderance of the City Lords was not absolute. Especially after the gang 'reorganisation', and adoption of a collective security system, where war was decided in concert with all the major groups voting, the Vice Lord society started to look like the twentieth century society of states under the League of Nations or United Nations Charter, with the gang executive 'board' resembling the collective security function of these international institutions. In addition, the Vice Lord executive board bears a resemblance to the security functions of the United Nations Security Council¹⁶. Under the Vice Lord collective security system the Vice Lords branch retained a major voice in important decisions, but, other groups, especially the more dominant ones, had an important say on crucial policy issues, such as war, while the twenty member council backed up the decisions of the board (Keiser, 1969, p.19), without having any executive veto powers. Likewise, in the United Nations Charter each of the five permanent member states may veto any security decisions of the Security Council, while other states occupy, on a rotating basis, the remaining ten seats, but cannot veto council decisions.

¹⁶ In the post-reorganisation Vice Lord gang society, it could be argued that The City Lords held a position of a superpower in relation to the other gang 'great powers', who could be identified by their permanent members on the Executive Board, and the lesser powers, who were members of the auxiliary council, in the gang hierarchy.

3.4.3. Inter-Gang Deterrence, Bipolarity, and Peace Treaties

Other mechanisms of interaction familiar to international society are mimicked in anarchical gang societies. For example, Jankowski describes the strategy of 'first strike' between two Mexican-American gangs in San Diego, whose territories were not contiguous,

"This type of violence is characterised as a preemptive [sic] strike out of fear..."first strike" is based on the assumption that the other gang is going to attack anyway, and so it is better to get in the first hit...So in order to scare them out of attacking, they attacked first" (Jankowski, 1991, p.164 quoted in Sanders, 1994, p.127).

This tactic resembles a similar deterrent strategy in international affairs, whereby one state wishes to discourage another from attacking it by launching a pre-emptive strike, thereby displaying its military might, and, hopefully, preventing the other side from using its military capacity ¹⁷.

Also, the present day (circa 1995) arrangement of relations between the two most powerful gangs in Los Angeles, the Bloods and the Crips, resembles a bipolar balance of power structure. The heavily armed Crips, who control the crack trade in the city, is a federation of young blacks. The Bloods, who are sworn enemies of the Crips, is a loose federation of various gangs that have joined forces in order to resist being ruled by the neighbouring Crips (The Economist, November 4, 1995, p.69). The warfare between these two federations resembles the bipolar balance of power pattern between the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues in Ancient Greece (see footnote 11, pp.29-30), or the bipolar arrangement of states during the twentieth century cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. However, unlike the Soviet-American conflict, the warfare between the Crips and the Bloods has been a hot war.

Nevertheless, despite the bitter rivalry between the Bloods and the Crips, two peace agreements have been brokered between them by outside mediators, since 1992: the first agreement, in 1992, brokered an armistice between the two federations. Moreover, the inter-gang treaty which ratified this first peace deal was based on a 1949 United Nations peace treaty between Israel and Egypt: this United Nations treaty was translated into 'gang language', and summit-like meetings, such as "unity barbecues", were arranged in order to help unite the groups in peace (The Economist, June 20, 1992, p.59). Although the mediation efforts between the two groups resulted in a cease-fire, like the 1949 Israeli-Egyptian armistice, it did not last. Yet, again in May, 1994, a mediator from the 'Nation of Islam', helped to negotiate another

¹⁷ Robertson describes this principle, under the heading 'First Strike, ' in *The Penguin Dictionary of Politics* (1993), as follows, "One form of attack [first strike] would be a pre-emptive strike, which can be launched with either nuclear or conventional weapons, aimed against some specific feature of another power's potential or actual military capacity. The intention is to prevent the other power from using that specific weapon or capacity... Although they are in fact unprovoked first strikes, they are seen by those who launch them as essentially defensive measures" (Robertson, 1993, p.189).

cease-fire agreement between twenty four gangs affiliated with the Bloods and the Crips. This second peace deal has been more successful and the cease-fire has been maintained (as of November 4, 1995). Furthermore, an arbitration and mediation council, which meets on a weekly basis, has been set up so that rival gangs can discuss issues of concern (The Economist, November 4, 1995, p.69).

These case histories of the peace process in the Los Angeles gang world have obvious parallels with inter-state diplomatic mediation, conciliation, and arbitration efforts, as well as international legal tools. The use of an international treaty as a 'legal instrument' in the peace deal between the Bloods and Crips in Los Angeles demonstrates that identical peace processes have been tried between gangs as between states. Nevertheless, the policy issues and political circumstances are obviously different at the inter-gang and inter-state level, but, it is noteworthy that almost identical political processes can be mapped out for both of these anarchical societies. In both instances the objective is to broker a peace settlement between disputants within a political system where no centralised enforcement mechanism exists.

3.4.4. The Anarchical Society Reconsidered

On the one hand, a comparison between gang and state societies reveals many similarities, as described above. On the other hand, it would be valid to note that states are usually larger and more complex entities than gangs. However, a state like San Marino is probably not as populous or as socially complex, as the Blood or Crip federations, for example. Furthermore, states do not usually derive a major part of their income from drug dealing or complicity with illicit activities, but, Manuel Noriega's Panama was an obvious exception. Most states are not as bellicose as gangs, yet, here again, Saddam Hussein's Iraq, has exercised anti-social, i.e. violent, and expansionist policies on the international stage. Nonetheless, as stated above, the object of this comparison has not been to equate states with gangs. Rather, the correlation between these two societies provides the following two theoretical issues that require further comment:

First, other contemporary territorial entities besides states, i.e. gangs, exist, and moreover, relations between these groups are maintained by a similar set of decentralised institutions. The above-mentioned case studies have shown that institutions resembling balance of power, warfare conducted in order to enforce a type of primitive law, hegemonic management by a powerful group, and diplomacy can be identified in the social affairs between gang groupings.

Secondly, the anarchical relations between gangs co-exist in parallel to the centralised machinery of the state, that is within domestic society. Hence, the anarchical society of gangs is

incorporated within the territorial confines of the Leviathan despite its centralised organs of government.

The fact that gang societies thrive in many states implies that the coercive and consensual aspects of state authority have been disregarded by these group actors. This observation contravenes the Hobbesian 'law' that a centralised state apparatus vested with coercive enforcement powers is sufficient to awe all members within domestic society into submission.

Thrasher, in his classic work, *The Gang* (1927) likens gangs to foreign matter that collects within hidden crevices and cracks-interstices,

"The gang may be regarded as an interstitial element in the framework of society, and gangland as an interstitial region in the layout of the city...It is to a large extent isolated from the wider culture and the larger community by the processes of competition and conflict which have resulted in the selection of its population...This region of life is in a real sense an underworld..." (Thrasher, 1927, pp.22-25).

In other words, the creation of gangs represents the rejection of the society¹⁸, and the attempt of members to formulate their own social grouping in preference to the wider community (Thrasher, 1927, p.37). The individual ego of gang members, in psychoanalytic terms, identifies, not with the norms and symbols of formal society, but with those of the gang. Even though the legal system of the state claims official jurisdiction, i.e. authority, over a territory and a population, the gang slips between the cracks of domestic society and disregards some or all of its edicts. In this regard, gangs assume a nihilistic stance in relation to the state: in other words, these groups reject the organisation and rule of state institutions, and in fact carry on their relations 'as if' these conventions did not matter, or did not exist at all.

However, despite the rejection of the state, as was explained above, the social relations between gangs are not characterised by an Hobbesian condition of perpetual warfare, although this might seem to be so if one studies some of the more violent gangs¹⁹. As the above case study has tried to show, the centralised mechanisms of social order of the state are replaced by other decentralised inter-gang institutions of social order. In both political settings, some

¹⁸ The reasons for the rejection of formal society could include such factors as: "disintegration of family life, inefficiency of schools, corruption and indifference in local politics, unemployment, low wages, and the lack of opportunity for wholesome recreation", (Thrasher, 1927, p.37), for example. Of course a study of the possible social causes for the rejection of society is important, but, it is not the main reason why gangs have been cited in this chapter. Rather, the general process of rejecting formal society by gangs is relevant to the present analysis.

¹⁹ Yet, even in the case of the Bloods and Crips, who demonstrated their aggressive tendencies during the Los Angeles riots of 1992, the voice of conciliation has been able to reduce, albeit temporarily, the Hobbesian-like character of their interactions.

semblance of order is obtained through a complex web of decentralised social institutions which, it has been argued, constitute an anarchical society. Therefore, the idea that anarchical social relations, such as those that Bull describes between states, emerge only when a centralised authority, such as a state government, is not present does not agree with a socio-anthropological analysis of gang relations. A decentralised system of social order can and does exist despite the presence of the state machinery.

In summary, the above analysis of the anarchical relations between states and gangs has indicated that decentralised forms of social order can and do exist even in the presence of a centralised structure of social authority. As demonstrated above some domestic groups such as gangs fail to internalise societies' norms and rules. Within the context of the psychoanalytic model presented in this thesis, this investigation also demonstrated that no matter whether the system of social order is centralised or not, the coercive and consensual aspects of social cohesion described by the concept of the 'cultural superego' can be observed: both systems attempt to limit individual 'egoism' as part of maintaining social cohesion, co-operation, and interaction.

The next section attempts to place these concepts into a conceptual framework that will, at the end of this chapter, be used to compare several international systems, modern as well as pre-modern.

3.5.0. Order Out of Chaos

Thus far, the discussion of the institutions of an anarchical society has been premised on the idea of maintaining patterns of social order. For instance, the definition of order used by Hedley Bull in *The Anarchical Society* is as follows,

“To say of a number of things that together they display order, is in the simplest and most general sense of the term, to say that they are related to one another according to some pattern, that their relationship is not purely haphazard but contains some discernible principle” (Bull, 1977, p.3).

Furthermore, according to Bull's analysis, order in society is a particular pattern of behaviour that allows for the primary objectives of social life to be obtained, and consequently, order in human behaviour is closely correlated to, and conforms with, certain rules of conduct in society (Bull, 1977, pp.7, 53). This definition of order implies that a certain minimum of social cohesion must be preserved in society so that common objectives might be fulfilled; it assumes that certain common interests, rules, and common values exist within society, which in turn, facilitates order and social bonds. In this respect Bull observes that all societies try to prevent violence and guarantee that its members will keep their promises to one another: “if men in their wants of material things were wholly egotistical, the stabilisation of possession by rules of property or ownership would be impossible-just as, if

men were wholly altruistic in relation to these wants, such stabilisation would be unnecessary” (Bull, 1977, pp.5-6). Therefore, Bull’s analysis maps out a system of society which is potentially unstable: if ‘egoism’ cannot be controlled, and this is an objective of all societies, disorder, marked by violence and disrespect for others, will ensue. Yet, even though political change and political instability is implied in his analysis of international order, Bull prefers to concentrate on “the statics of international order and not with its dynamics” (Bull, 1977, pp.19-20). In other words, Bull’s theory of international order is a linear model: values, rules, and institutions exist within international society, which in turn, produce orderly relations between states. In effect, Bull’s analysis of the *Anarchical Society* does not stress periods of political instability, i.e. social disorder, within international society in which its institutions of social cohesion fail to maintain order between states.

Nevertheless, despite Bull’s emphasis on order and the mechanisms by which it is maintained in international society, the remainder of this chapter will illustrate that a linear model,²⁰ such as Bull’s, does not adequately describe the processes of community-building within international societies, both modern and pre-modern. Further, it would seem that a description of international societies cannot limit itself to a depiction of the ‘statics’ of community while ignoring the ‘dynamics’, as Bull would seem to imply. On the contrary, as will be explained below, a psychoanalytic model suggests that a conceptual model of international society must take into account and explain the turbulent phenomena, i.e. dynamic, fluctuating, and changeable, aspects of socialisation in international societies: in this sense, the political relations between states resembles the ‘turbulent’ systems recently studied by natural scientists. Most recently, chaos theory has challenged the linear theories of order in areas such as physics: for example, the study of turbulent climatological changes is one area where chaos theory has been applied. In summary, chaos theory proposes that order in biological and social systems cannot be grasped by viewing systems in linear, mechanistic terms. Chaos theory has identified spontaneously occurring turbulence in several different naturally occurring, and also man-made, for example economic, systems, which would not have been predicted from linear Newtonian-type models. For example, in *Order Out of Chaos*, by Prigogine and Stengers (1984), a paradigm is developed that,

²⁰ Such linear models view systems in terms of inputs, such as rules in society, that naturally lead to outputs, for example social order. Therefore, the equations are linear ones: the pre-condition A results in outcome B. The dynamic systems approach of chaos theory challenges these types of one-way formulae: in other words, according to these theoretical perspective, natural and man-made systems such as economic structures, are in constant flux ranging between chaos and order. Similarly, this section will try to demonstrate that the interactions within international society are more adequately described by this dynamic approach to order, rather than the static approach which Bull appears to prefer.

“...shifts attention to those aspects of reality that characterize today’s accelerated social change: disorder, instability, diversity, disequilibrium, nonlinear relationships...in Prigoginian terms, all systems contain subsystems which are continually “fluctuating”...one of the key controversies surrounding this concept has to do with Prigogine’s insistence that order and organization can actually arise “spontaneously” out of disorder and chaos...” (Toffler, 1984, p.49).

Therefore, chaos theory proposes a dynamic methodology whereby order and turbulence are in a constant state of flux. Similarly, in the academic discipline of International Politics, Rosenau applies some of these concepts to the analysis of the international relations. For example, Rosenau, metaphorically, compares the events in world politics to a turbulent weather system,

“Doubtless every era seems chaotic to the people who live through it, and the last decades of the twentieth century are no exception. It is as if Spaceship Earth daily encounters squalls, downdrafts, and wind shears as it careens into changing and uncharted realms of experience. Sometimes the turbulence is furiously evident as thunderclouds of war gather or the lightning of a crisis streaks across the global sky; but often the turbulence is of a clear-air kind, the havoc it wreaks is unrecognized until after its challenges have been met or its damage done (Rosenau, 1990, p.7).

Therefore, Rosenau affirms that different degrees of order and chaos seem to co-exist in international society: it is a dynamic system which is perpetually in motion and in the grips of change.

Likewise, as will be demonstrated in the remainder of this chapter, psychoanalytic theory, if used to analyse political societies, also portrays a dynamic structure, characterised by a recurring tension between social order and upheaval, and in this sense seems to address the order out of chaos phenomena in world politics identified in the work of Rosenau. The remainder of this section will develop a few basic concepts that will be used in the final part of this chapter to compare the processes of socialisation in several international societies. The first of these concepts is the idea of collective ‘egocentricity’ in society. The second theoretical tool will make use of Hedley Bull’s distinction between an international system and society to describe social organisations in which varying degrees of collective autonomy, or rather group ‘egocentricity’, are built into the social infrastructure. Finally, these ideas will be integrated with Freud’s ‘id-ego-superego’ model to show why this model of political order, in contrast to Bull’s above-mentioned linear model, seems to describe the dynamic, i.e. fluctuating, quality of political order/disorder in international politics.

3.5.1. Black Holes in Society !

The above-mentioned analysis of gang societies can not only be used to illustrate anarchical relations within domestic society, which can then be compared with those between states,

but, it may also be used to exemplify the concept of collective ‘egocentricity’ cited at the beginning of this chapter.

According to the definition of group egocentricity outlined at the beginning of the chapter, gangs within domestic society would seem to fit the definition of collective ‘egoism’, in so far as they pursue their own advantage within domestic society and operate ‘as if’ the normative system within the state did not exist. Moreover, if a group is comprised of individuals and collectivities who identify with an over-arching normative system, as is suggested in Freud’s analysis of group psychology (see Chapter Two), then groups such as gangs, apparently, reject the identification with the authority of the state *apparatus*, which administers and legislates the norms and rules for the state collectivity. Thus, collectivities, such as gangs, formulate an alternative basis of group identification, and attempt to insulate themselves from the social fabric of the state, and in this respect act as ‘egocentric’²¹ actors *vis-à-vis* the apparatus of the state.

It will be recalled that, according to Freud’s theories of social cohesion, for a social contract to be effectively implemented the constituent members of any given society must respect and identify with the laws, punitive sanctions, and norms of social authority within that society. However, the above-mentioned gang case study has tried to demonstrate that not all groups identify with the normative system of a society. One way of conceptualising these ‘egocentric’ actors, who isolate themselves from the normative framework of a given society, this author argues, would be to think of them as social ‘black holes’²²: in other words, these actors, by rejecting the rules and norms of a certain social system, try to place themselves out of reach of societies’ institutions of social order. Therefore, the idea of a ‘black hole’ in a society’s institutional agreements with its members describes the active isolation of a group-actor from the institutions of social cohesion within that society: in effect, these groups do not recognise the norms of social cohesion within a certain social grouping and may try to actively undermine them. Furthermore, if the majority of a given society rejects the social institutions which bind

²¹ As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, ‘egocentric’ groups, like individuals, pursue their independent interests and advantage. In the case of gangs they exhibit their collective ‘egocentricity’, i.e. self-centredness, by disregarding the normative framework and authority of the state *apparatus*.

²² The term ‘black hole’ is borrowed from astronomy. The Collins Concise English Dictionary defines a black hole as “any place regarded as resembling a black hole in that items or information entering it cannot be retrieved” (1992, p.132). Therefore, a black hole is like a vacuum or void in a particular area or space which cannot be penetrated or communicated with. Likewise, if society is thought of as the social arrangements, between a specific population residing within a area i.e. territory, which unites the collectivity together, groupings such as gangs and the mafia are like a void or empty space within society because societies’ communal arrangements have clearly failed to obtain the identification and respect of these particular members.

the community together and regulate the interactions between its members, then an Hobbesian state of anarchy (in this instance the term anarchy is used to describe chaos) would prevail.

Thus, 'egocentric' actors, such as gangs, exhibit the anti-social tendencies represented by Freud's id-ego axis. Since a collectivity, as defined in this thesis, ideally, consists of the identification of all of the groups' participants with a particular normative system, which Freud refers to as the 'cultural superego, ' the renunciation of this group affiliation by some of its members creates a void in Freud's 'ideal' model of social cohesion²³. In the case of the state, such 'social black holes' could be represented by groups such as the Mafia, stateless ethnic groups, and drug cartels that resist the authority of the state *apparatus*: accordingly, the concept of sub-national 'black holes' will be referred to in Chapter Six, in a discussion of non-state actors and political pluralism. However, for the remainder of this chapter the idea of a 'social black hole' will be limited to an analysis of the processes of social cohesion within international society.

3.5.2. International Systems and Societies

In the *Anarchical Society* (1977), Hedley Bull distinguishes between a system of states that interact with one another, whereas their relations do not include a set of rules and institutions to guide their mutual interactions, and a society, which as defined above, includes these agreed principles²⁴. Moreover, Bull classifies the modern system of states also as a society, and subsequently, he considers various alternatives to this arrangement. It is the contention of this section that these different 'world order models can be arranged along a continuum based on the degree of autonomy that state actors have as participants within that system. This continuum also coincides, as will be explained, with the 'id-ego-superego' map outlined above. Finally, it will be argued that Bull's hypothetical options for world order provide examples by which a psychoanalytic analysis of social cohesion within international societies can be illustrated.

²³ Any scientific or philosophical model that tries to approximate reality is an 'ideal' type of theory. Therefore, Freud's theory of the group is an attempt to describe the 'real world' phenomenon of group identification. This section suggests an area where this model would seem to warrant amendment. The inclusion into his theory of group identification of the concept of an 'egocentric' actor as a social 'black hole' is an attempt to account for group-actors that reject this process of social identification. This amendment to Freud's model of social identification and cohesion is essential for the following analysis of international society.

²⁴ As Bull explains in his book *The Anarchical Society*, "an international society...presupposes an international system, whereas, an international system may exist that is not an international society" (Bull, 1977, p.14).

As an alternative to the modern state system, Bull imagines two options where states would be more independent than in the present international society. The first is a condition where states form a system but not a society: states would continue to exist but common interests between them would have vanished. In the absence of legal obligations, diplomatic norms, and other rules, interaction would still take place between states, but would primarily be limited to violent incursions. Limited restraints such as a 'fortuitous' balance of power and mutual nuclear deterrence might have a place in this world, but this scenario "would be disorderly in the extreme, and would in fact exemplify the Hobbesian state of nature" (Bull, 1977, p.250). The second condition would be a universal political organisation comprised of autarchic political units, which Bull observes would resemble Rousseau's model of a world of self-sufficient states. Bull classifies this prototype neither as a system nor as a society (Bull, 1977, pp.249-252).

The other two world order models in Bull's list of options would mean that states would have to relinquish most, if not all, of their sovereign independence. For Bull neither of these options would comprise an international society or system because state sovereignty would be sacrificed (Bull, 1977, pp.10-11). One of these options would represent a type of New Mediaevalism which would involve overlapping jurisdictions and authority, somewhat like the arrangement in Western Christendom in the Middle Ages. In this model, state sovereignty, i.e. the authority of the centralised state *apparatus*, would be shared between several different levels of authority ranging from the sub-national to the supra-national levels. The second option, world government, could either take the form of a single universal government which would absorb states, or a return to the 'unity' of the Roman empire where one major state acts as the hegemon in a type of suzerain state system. This could arise, according to Bull, by states being forced to accept a new social contract between themselves, and consequently, states would have to make the greatest sacrifice of independence, thereby eliminating the notion of state sovereignty (Bull, 1977, pp.252-256).

Therefore, according to Bull's world order models a system which is not a state allows for the most autonomy for states, while the world state model essentially strips away any vestiges of sovereign independence from states. Also, Bull implies that the present international society represents a middle path between these extreme options: in other words, states are not as self-sufficient as in Bull's system without a society, but have more political autonomy than they would have if a world government became a reality. Moreover, in addition to Bull's comments about the present international society, it would also seem that, whereas the external sovereignty of states mandates that states "claim to be politically and juridically independent of any superior" (Wight, 1977, p.130), sovereign states in practice have accepted rules and institutions that practically constrain their behaviour to the extent to which they form a society. In support of this observation, international relations scholars, such as Northedge, have

observed that there is always a “considerable hiatus between the independence which sovereignty is legally supposed to confer and the practical freedom to do as they like which states enjoy” (Northedge, 1976, p.136).

According to the psychoanalytic concepts outlined in this chapter, Bull’s ‘system without a society’ allows state actors to be more egocentric, i.e. self-centred, *vis-à-vis* other actors. In this pattern of social arrangement the only institutions which would correlate with the socialisation functions of the cultural ‘super-ego’ would be the decentralised coercive institutions of a ‘fortuitous’ balance of power or mutual deterrence. Therefore, in psychoanalytic terms this social design corresponds to the extreme pole of the ‘id-ego’ map. Accordingly, Bull’s system without a society epitomises a chaotic ‘society’ where aggression and the unrestrained use of force are the order of the day: as Bull’s above-mentioned comments indicate this design would approximate Hobbes’ state of nature.

A political organisation comprised of autarchic states is the next most ‘egocentric’ design in Bull’s taxonomy. On the one hand, Bull claims that this arrangement is not a society i.e. no common social interests are required to make it work. On the other hand, he notes that for states to be physically isolated from each other, and to have little intercourse with one another, they would have to respect each other’s autonomy (Bull, 1977, pp.251). Consequently, it appears that consensual aspects of social cohesion are part of this design: in other words, states must agree to leave each other alone and to respect each other’s rights to self-sufficiency, and in this sense limited co-operative aspects of socialisation described by concept of the ‘ego-ideal’ can be detected in this social arrangement. Therefore, some minimal degree of social consensus must exist for this model to function: nonetheless, in this social scheme states would be more ‘egocentric’, i.e. self-centred, than the present international society because each state would retain more independent initiative to act as it wished i.e. the social commitments to other states would be less. Thus, this alternative for world order could be placed on the ‘id-ego’ axis, but would involve much less of the violence and disorder, which also characterises the concept of the ‘id’, than would exist in a ‘system’ without a society.

The political structures of world government and neo-mediaevalism permit, in theory, less collective ‘egoism’ than the present international society. Therefore, both of these blueprints for world order could be situated along the ‘ego-superego’ axis: in the case of a world government the degree of social co-operation and commitment expected of each participant in the society would be greater than in the present international arrangement. World government is the only design, in the examples cited herein, that considers a centralised authority vested with both the conciliatory and/or coercive forms of social cohesion represented by the concept of the ‘cultural superego’. In contrast, the neo-mediaeval society is a decentralised society, which involves some degree of supranational authority, but at the same

time, the political authority within this society is shared between various interconnected levels: this model lacks the coercive powers of enforcement of a world government. In effect, in both of these designs the tolerance of collective 'egoism', i.e. self-centredness and autonomy, on the part of member states, or former 'sovereign' states in the case of a world government, would be sharply curtailed. Moreover, as will be recalled from an earlier section in this chapter, the institutions of social cohesion, which have been referred to as the 'cultural superego' in this thesis, demand some degree of 'social altruism', either by coercive or consensual means, from the members of a given social grouping: in other words, individuals or groupings within society are expected to sacrifice some of their (potential) independence, i.e. as compared to a situation where individuals lived in a completely self-sufficient manner, as described by Rousseau's State of Nature (1991b). Therefore, according to the model developed in this chapter, Bull's world government and Neo-mediaeval societies could be classified as 'centralised-coercive' and 'decentralised-altruistic' political societies, respectively, in that the mechanisms of social cohesion within these societies correspond to a more restrictive form of the 'cultural superego' than does the present international society i.e. the rules and norms of social cohesion limit state independence to a greater degree. In other words, this classification scheme implies that the institutions of authority and social cohesion within a particular international society require high degrees of social co-operation, and a concomitant limitation of a state's capacity for independent initiative, from the members of that society. In particular, the mechanisms of social cohesion in a centralised-coercive world government correlate to the extreme coercive aspects of the cultural superego, and those in the decentralised-altruistic neo-mediaeval society correlate to the ego-ideal aspect of the cultural superego.

Finally, as stated above, the design of international society, as it exists in the twentieth century, represents a compromise between the above extreme alternatives, and would be placed somewhere in the middle of the 'id-ego-superego' continuum. It neither demands the levels of 'social altruism' from states that might be expected in order to establish a world government, nor permits the unrestrained bellicosity of state actors that would be tolerated in a 'system that was not a society'. Although, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, decentralised institutions of social cohesion, such as the balance of power, correlate to the coercive aspect of the cultural superego this international social arrangement does not demand that states sacrifice their social independence to the same degree as in a centralised-coercive, i.e. world government society, or decentralised-altruistic, i.e. neo-mediaeval society. However, since the 'modern' international society is based on the legal principle of absolute sovereignty, i.e. absolute political autonomy, it will be classified as an 'egocentric' international society in the final section of this chapter.

The above analysis contends that a differentiation between egocentric, centralised-coercive, and decentralised-altruistic international societies should be considered.²⁵ On the one hand, an extreme 'egocentric' society²⁶ (e.g. Bull's system which is not a society) tolerates high levels of conflictual interaction and state autonomy, a general lack of respect for other members within society, and there are hardly any expectations of 'social altruism' from the interacting members. On the other hand, a world society, or a suzerain state system dominated by a single hegemonic power, would, presumably, attempt to censure the aggressive behaviour of member states as much as possible, and would demand of all of its members high levels of social co-operation. In other words, the above analysis provides examples of international societies which differ regarding the degree of 'egoism' permitted within each society. Further, this section has tried to illustrate that the abovementioned classification of international societies correlates directly with the 'ide-ego-superego' paradigm.

3.5.3. Turbulence in International Society

Therefore, the 'id-ego-superego' topology, it is argued, can also be used to describe the social dynamics of international political societies. Furthermore, the preceding analysis has tried to demonstrate that a psychoanalytic description of social cohesion and order/disorder in world politics revolves around the three following concepts: a dynamic state of order and disorder in the interactions of state actors in world politics; 'social black holes' within the institutional arrangements for social cohesion in a particular society; and a continuum between 'egocentric' and centralised-coercive world orders. These are the principal concepts of the psychoanalytic 'order out of chaos' approach to international politics which has been elaborated in this chapter. Furthermore, it is the contention of the next section that the major international political societies, throughout the course of history, have exhibited a similar oscillation between 'egoism' and 'social altruism', no matter whether order was maintained by a centralised or decentralised form of political authority. As will be demonstrated in these case examples the socialisation of states and the maintenance of social order and co-operation,

²⁵ This method of classifying international societies does not make any distinction between a state system or society. Likewise, other international relations scholars, such as Geoffrey Stern, in his recent book *The Structure of International Society* (1995, pp.47-69), do not discriminate between system and society in their descriptions of modern and pre-modern international societies.

²⁶ Also, the above-mentioned gang societies would be a good example of such an 'egocentric' social pattern.

thereby limiting the collective 'egoism' of individual states within an international society, may be associated with a rejection of these social controls.²⁷

3.6.0. International Political Societies: Turbulent Structures?

In Chapter One it was argued that the 'id-ego-superego' map furnished an holistic paradigm of international political philosophy. This section argues that this schema can also provide a trans-historical and trans-cultural method for describing the dynamics of social cohesion within international political societies, including the pre-modern²⁸, and modern, i.e. post-Westphalian, international societies²⁹.

Accordingly, the 'order out of chaos' psychoanalytic model described in the previous section will be used to compare the dynamics of political interaction and social cohesion within each of these societies. It should be noted, however, that the purpose of this analysis is not to provide an exhaustive historical description of each society, and in fact this work has been done by many historians and international relations scholars, but rather to test the above-mentioned psychoanalytic methodology by citing historical examples.

3.6.1. Near and Middle Eastern, Chinese, and Roman Empires

These international societies have been grouped together because of their centralised institutional structures, whereby the subject peoples and states were 'socialised' into the empire by the use of different combinations of social coercion and/or consensual mechanisms of social cohesion: accordingly, it will be argued that the mechanisms of social cohesion within these international societies corresponds to the socialisation functions of the 'cultural superego', which has been defined earlier in this chapter. Further, according to the classification system outlined above, these societies represent centralised-coercive international

²⁷ Similarly, Freud felt that this was always a possibility as communities were formed (see his essays *Why War?* (1933 [1932]) and *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930 [1929])). These ideas were discussed in Chapter Two in the section describing social cohesion.

²⁸ The ancestors to modern international society were as follows: the old empires of the Near and Middle East, namely, the Egyptian, Mesopotamian the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian which prospered from about 4000 to 400 B.C.E. (Stern, 1995, p.47; Tainter, 1988, pp.7-8); the Chinese Empire which began in the eighteenth century B.C.E. and ended with the Ching dynasty in 1912; the ancient Indian empires such as the Mauryan Dynasty of 300 B.C; the Greek city state system of around fifth century B.C.E.; the Roman Empire established by Augustus Caesar in 27 B.C.E.; the Byzantium empire with Constantinople as the capital in the fourth century C.E.; the Holy Roman Empire, founded in 800 C.E. with the crowning of Charlemagne (Northedge, 1976, pp.39-51), and the Islamic society which began in 622 C.E. and ended in the 19th. century (Stern, 1995, pp.55-58).

²⁹ The origins of modern international society are disputed. For purposes of this discussion the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 will be accepted as the arbitrary birth date of the modern international system; this view is accepted by such scholars as Hedley Bull (Bull, 1977, pp.17-18; Stern, 1995, p.65)

societies. Also, as will be demonstrated, even though the mechanisms of social cohesion within these societies were highly centralised this did not mean that political order, or disorder, was a static phenomena. In each society political order co-existed with disintegration and anarchy: a dynamic tension between these two extremes will be displayed in each of these mini-case histories.

The authority structures of the Middle Eastern Empires were highly centralised and coercive,

“they created the conditions for the concentration of power into the hands of an individual-an individual who...became the sole source of legislative, executive, and judicial authority...Control was maintained and consolidated by a variety of methods. For example, the Assyrian monarchs imposed a common religion...The ancient Egyptians planted garrisons among their subject peoples” (Stern, 1995, p.47).

Furthermore, the rulers of these empires had no conception of rights to independence, or moral and legal rights: all subject nations were to be converted into vassal or tribute-paying states (Northedge, 1976, p.39).

However, the fact that independence was not respected in the Middle Eastern and Near Eastern international societies did not mean that ‘black holes’ in their respective political order did not emerge: there were numerous demands for more autonomy. For example, the first Mesopotamian empire (ca.2350-2150) was developed by Sargon of Akkad, but was stricken by “a series of rebellions in the subject city-states” which presaged the eventual collapse of the empire. These bouts of collective ‘egoism’ by vassal states resulted in a decentralisation process, and the emergence of regional hegemony in southern Mesopotamia, before the empire completely disintegrated (Tainter, 1988, p.7).

The ‘Old’ Egyptian Kingdom emerged with the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt in the first dynasty (ca.3100 B.C.E.). This empire was a highly centralised system ruled by a leader with ‘supernatural authority’. Nevertheless, as Tainter observes, the political order in Ancient Egypt was accompanied by episodes of chaos that marked a rejection of central rule,

“As the Old Kingdom developed, however, it became difficult to ensure effective control over the provinces, which began to show strong feudal characteristics. The political authority of the ruler seems to have declined, while power of the provincial officials and the wealth of the administrative nobility rose” (Tainter, 1988, p.8).

Eventually at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, in 2181 B.C.E. the Old Empire collapsed, and subsequently, the beginning of the Seventh Dynasty was marked by strife which represented “one of the darkest episodes in Egyptian history”. This period of anarchy, the First Intermediate Period, resulted in the complete collapse of centralised rule, and the formation of numerous independent and semi-independent political units. As the general breakdown of social order continued: “there was strife between districts; looting, killing, revolutions, and

social anarchy; and incursions into the Delta". Finally, it was not until the Eleventh dynasty, which began in 2131 B.C.E., that a centralised system re-established unity in the empire. This new order was the precursor to the establishment of the Middle Kingdom. However, almost three centuries passed (ca.1870 B.C.E.) before regional independence was effectively obliterated by the imposition of central rule (Tainter, 1988, p.8).

The Persians, according to Northedge, were most successful at uniting several different cultural and language groups into a single heterogeneous empire. Furthermore, they did not impose Persian language or culture on their subjects, and they allowed each of the incorporated satrapies to be ruled with some degree of independence (Northedge, 1976, pp.38-39). Although it would seem that this empire tolerated a greater degree of autonomy from its dependencies, than the above-mentioned Middle and Near eastern empires, this more lenient attitude, on the part of the Persians towards their vassals, was not accompanied by complete political stability. One particular example of political disorder was the revolt of the Ionian Greek city states against Persian rule. The Ionian Greeks had become a tributary of the Persian empire (ca.530 B.C.E.) after they failed to join in a federation with other Greek states in order to resist domination by the Persian empire. As a result, the Ionians were vulnerable to Persian attack, and were eventually subjugated, after they surrendered to the Persian leader, Cyrus the Great (Wight, 1977, pp.74-78, 92). Eventually, in 499 B.C.E. the great Ionian revolt against Persian rule broke out. The Persians were quick to assert their authority over the vassal state by what ever 'means' it took,

"There the Persian generals failed not to fulfil the threats which they had uttered against the Ionians when they were encamped against them; for when they had gained mastery over the cities, they chose out the comeliest boys and castrated them, making them eunuchs instead of men, and they carried the fairest maidens away to the king; this they did, and burnt the cities, yea, and their temples" (Herodotus, 1982, p.177).

Therefore, central rule over the 'wayward' Ionians was thereby re-established by the Persians after they inflicted much pain and suffering on their Ionian subjects. However, ironically, the Ionian protests against Persian coerciveness were in the end rewarded by the establishment of democratic freedoms for these Greek city-states,

"Perhaps the main cause of the Revolt was hatred of the tyrannies, and Persian statesmanship was never better shown than after the Revolt had been stamped out, when all the Ionian despots were deposed and democracies were set up instead" (Wight, 1977, p.78).

Thus, the Persians, it would seem, chose to mix their coercive tactics with a token gesture of political conciliation, represented by the granting of some freedom to this Greek satrapy, and thereby defusing some of the Ionian resentment *vis-à-vis* the Persian sovereign. This is in keeping with Northedge's above-mentioned observation that the Persians allowed some

independent voice from their subjects. The measures taken by the Persians, i.e. both overt coercion and conciliation, to re-establish social cohesion after the Ionian revolt exemplifies the two, above-mentioned, components of the 'cultural superego': however, coercion seems to have predominated in the Persian 'manual' of social order.

In addition, other sources of entropy within the Persian society included the continual dissatisfaction of Egypt and Babylon which had been absorbed by the Persian empire. Besides, this vast and complex polity tended to "split up through the independence or disloyalty of the satraps and their vassal rulers" (Wight, 1977, p.90).

Under the *Pax Romana* the Roman empire was controlled from the central capital under the divine tutelage of the Emperor. Consequently, all laws were made in Rome: the legal principle of *ius gentium* fused provincial and Roman law into a single entity. By the time that the Roman empire was formally founded in 27 B.C.E. it was at its peak: it comprised a vast territory that corresponds to an area from Scotland to North Africa, and from Spain to Iraq. Rome managed to stave off resentment to its colonial rule by establishing a popular administration that allowed the citizens of the provinces a voice in the Empire's government, and granted Roman citizenship to all colonised peoples. This form of government was backed up by a vast and sophisticated military machine through which its conquests were achieved and the empire was policed. By resorting to these strategies of rule the Roman Empire, although it was prone to disorder, was spared the even greater instability of many of its political rivals (Stern, 1995, pp.53-55; Northedge, 1976, pp.48-49).

Therefore, the Roman Empire combined the constraints of military might and conquest, with political consensus which was encouraged by the rule of law and popular government. Therefore, the Roman form of social cohesion attempted to overcome the collective 'egoism' of its subjected city-states and provinces via both coercive and consensual means, unlike the Near Eastern and Middle Eastern Kingdoms who preferred coercion, and the Persians who resorted to conciliation to a lesser degree, and unlike the Romans had no notion of an international, codified system of law. Nonetheless, this did not mean that the empire was not prone to periodic disruptions, even at the empire's peak, but generally its popular mode of government was sufficient to control any internal hostilities that arose (Stern, 1995, p.53).

However, given the extensive expansion of the Roman Empire it did not take long before 'social black holes' emerged from within the empire, i.e. groups that rejected, and tried to isolate themselves from, Rome's centralised institutions of social cohesion, and these weaknesses within were exacerbated by barbarian incursions from outside. In extending its dominion over the Mediterranean, all of Italy, and into north-western Europe over a few centuries, the Roman Empire left itself open to stresses from within and without. For example, Roman domination did not extend to the German barbarian tribes, who lived on the fringes of

the empire, who would eventually contribute to the undoing of the Roman edifice when its popular base of support started to crumble (Tainter, 1988, pp.11, 195-96). These German barbarian areas, that could not be politically subjugated by the Romans (it is argued), acted as external 'black holes' for the Roman society: in other words, these hostile German tribes represented a kind of Hobbesian state of nature at the empire's periphery ready and waiting to pull the Roman edifice asunder. Responding to these dangers Augustus effectively stopped any further expansion of Roman society. Despite these precautions a precipitous decline began,

"In the third century the empire nearly disintegrated, as civil wars and economic crises were added to more barbarian incursions...By the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries, Diocletian and Constantine restored order for a time" (Tainter, 1988, p.11).

Eventually, after the empire had been split into Latin West and Greek East halves (ca.395 C.E.), a rapid decline in the Western region led to the empire's demise when the last emperor was dethroned in 476 C.E. (Stern, 1995, p.55; Tainter, 1988, p.11).

Finally, the Chinese empire was a highly centralised, coercive political society which did not recognise any rights of independence for its vassal states. Like the other societies in this section it too expected a high degree of 'social altruism, ' i.e. selflessness and the renunciation of independence by its various vassalages.

The centralised organs of the Chinese empire displayed a domineering attitude. The Chinese name for itself, the *Chung Kuo*, the Central Land, or the *Chung Hua*, the Central Splendour (Stern, 1995, p.48), epitomises what appears to be a superiority complex³⁰ that the Chinese had of their society in respect to the rest of the world. In psychoanalytic terms this complex embodies the idea of self-admiration of oneself in relation to other persons, or, as argued here, towards other group-persons. China exhibited the appropriate features of this complex: it felt magnificent in comparison to the rest of the world, it needed to dominate others, and it displayed a tendency towards self-exaltation. Just as an individual afflicted with an extreme form of this condition considers all others to be inferior to himself, the ancient Chinese society displayed an imperious attitude towards all other peoples outside of its domain,

"As for the peoples farther afield, they usually came to China as pirates or adventurers-again, merely reinforcing the Chinese view of the inferiority of the non-Chinese...The Chinese emperors, believing themselves to have 'the Mandate of

³⁰ According to Adler a 'superiority' complex can be compared and contrasted to an 'inferiority' complex (Adler, 1965, p.74; Brown, 1964, pp.38-40). Adler observed that an individual with a superiority complex will appear "magnificent enough in his own eyes... His fantastic notion of superiority is fully and wholly revealed in his compulsion...it is only a manifestation of the desire to dominate, to exalt oneself, by depreciating others" (Adler, 1965, p.117). Likewise, the idea of an 'inferiority' complex, and 'feelings' of superiority and inferiority appeared in Freud's *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, and other related essays (1964h, pp.65-66, 78; 1964aa, pp.242-243; 1964bb, pp.141-142; 1960, pp.195-196, 199, 224, 227), however, these concepts were more completely explored by Adler.

Heaven, ‘ claimed exclusive sovereignty not only over China proper and what became known as Outer China-Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet-but, in theory at least, over the rest of world as well” (Stern, 1995, p.48).

This did not mean that the Heavenly Kingdom excluded relations with outsiders; if foreigners were prepared to ‘*kow-tow*’³¹ as a sign of complete subordination to Chinese authority they would be duly recognised. Yet, in reality, the Chinese empire was not able to force the rest of the world into servitude. Consequently, it had to recognise the independence of these collectivities, such as the Japanese, Tartars, Mongols, and Huns, which it considered of inferior status (Northedge, 1976, p.40). Since the Chinese thought that they were entitled to sovereignty over these groups, but in practice were not able to achieve it, these groups would seem to represent potential external ‘black holes’ in the Chinese quest towards world domination.

Furthermore, the Ancient Chinese society, although it existed for almost 3000 years (see above), was afflicted by its share of internal disorder, and also threats from external barbarians. The emergence of these ‘black holes’ in the Central Land seriously undermined order at certain periods in Chinese history. For example, the Chou dynasty (ca.1122 B.C.E.) was a feudal system that was recognised, at least in the early period, as a golden age of peace. However, this state of order was threatened after a few centuries as the central imperium started to lose its grip over the empire: regional lords ignored orders issued by the centre, and barbarian invasions increased in frequency. Eventually, northerners killed the last Western Chou ruler and the capital had to be moved East. However, in reality, the Eastern Chou leaders were only ‘powerless figureheads’. Consequently, as Tainter’s observations reveal, the Eastern central authority was not respected,

“Chinese unity effectively collapsed within the Western Chou. Through the Spring and Autumn (770-464 B.C.E.) and Warring States (463-222 B.C.E.) periods, disintegration and endless conflict were the norms. Powerful regional states emerged which contended endlessly for hegemony, forging and breaking alliances, engaging in wars, and manipulating barbarian groups” (Tainter, 1988, pp.5-6).

This period of internecine warfare lasted almost five centuries until unity was re-established in 221 B.C.E. under the Ch’in dynasty. (Tainter, 1988, pp.5-6).

³¹ The idea of ‘*kow-towing*’ to the Chinese authority figure, i.e. emperor, would seem to epitomise Freud’s idea of a demanding ‘cultural superego’: the *kow-tow* was a symbolic gesture of total selflessness whereby the person showing respect is expected to prostrate himself in the face of his Chinese master. Both individuals and groups alike were expected to demonstrate this absolute submission. Therefore, Chinese sovereignty expected almost total ‘social altruism’ from its subjects, i.e. the total renunciation of individual or group sovereignty and self-centredness.

Therefore, to summarise, the social demands, implemented by coercive and/or consensual means, of the centralised institutions of authority in each of these centralised-coercive international societies were accompanied by, on a sporadic basis within each of their respective societies, the collective 'egoism' of sub-units, and of outside 'barbarian' groups. It has been argued that these 'social black holes' seriously undermined the order within each of these empires, and thereby, disrupted the unity of each of these political societies, and sometimes the entire empire, for various periods of time.

According to the model constructed in this chapter, the centralised institutions of social cohesion within each of these international societies exhibit the coercive/consensual mechanisms of social cohesion of the 'cultural superego': also as has been demonstrated the centre often tried to forcibly maintain social co-operation from the various city-states and provinces held under its sway. However, these case studies demonstrate that the centre's attempts to maintain social order were often resisted as vassal members and tributaries of an empire tried to gain more independence. In effect, the dissatisfied vassal states, provinces, etc. tried to acquire greater political autonomy and to isolate themselves from the centralised normative order of a particular empire, and in this respect these groups acted as 'social black holes'. These challenges to the status quo of central rule marked the beginning of periods of political turmoil which lasted for several centuries in some cases, for example the Period of Warring States in Chinese history. For those societies that did not collapse, new political arrangements, for example after the Ionian revolt, were instituted so as to re-establish some degree of order. Therefore, it has been argued, that the socio-political dynamics in these centralised-coercive international societies correlate with the order-out-of-chaos psychoanalytic model developed in this chapter: on a sporadic basis the centralised institutions of social cohesion were resisted by subjected groups and chaos ensued, only to regenerate into conditions of order, often after new social institutions had been established, or in the case of Mesopotamia under the rule of a new empire ruled from Babylon (Tainter, 1988, p.7).

3.6.2. Greek City States, Ancient Indian, and Modern Societies

It is argued in this part that the Greek City States, Ancient Indian, and Modern International societies are examples of 'egocentric' international societies.

The Ancient Indian polity was a quintessential 'egocentric' international society. Kautilya's Arthashastra was a political manual that resembled Machiavelli's version of power politics. It was a cynical document based on stark realism, and in agreement with this philosophy, Kautilya, who was Chandragupta Maurya's prime minister, considered international politics to be an amoral jungle where aspirations to society and law had no proper place (Northedge, 1976, pp.43-44; Stern, 1995, pp.49-50). Consistent with this harsh view of

international relations, Ancient India for most of its history, before the Mogul Empire emerged, was characterised by,

“perpetually warring kingdoms devoid of any conception of balance or equilibrium between them. The sole factor regulating the mutual relations of these warring kingdoms was power-he who possessed it, used it to make good his domination over others” (Northedge, 1976, p.43).

Thus, the relations between the ancient Indian states resembled a state of Hobbesian anarchy: this international ‘society’ would seem to exemplify the above-mentioned extreme ‘egocentric’ society.

In Ancient India, the only significant inter-state institution that existed was the ‘Doctrine of Mandala’, otherwise known as the ‘Circle of States’, which resembles the modern European concept of Balance of Power. In this respect, the Ancient Indian society is analogous to Bull’s system without a society, in which the only international institution existing is a ‘fortuitous balance of power’ (see above).

The fact that the political interactions of Ancient India were characterised by turbulence did not mean that attempts to restrict the collective ‘egoism’ of the competing states did not occur. For example, after Alexander of Macedon had conquered the small republics and kingdoms in north-western India (ca.327 B.C.E.), and subsequently departed, a political vacuum was created. Thereafter, Chandragupta Maurya took advantage of this situation and incorporated these small states into the Mauryan empire (ca.300 B.C.E.). The empire’s government was comprised of a central bureaucracy controlled by a dominant king who directly ruled the metropolitan area (Thapar, 1966, pp.62, 82-83). The unity and order of the empire soon disintegrated (ca.231 B.C.E.), however, as the states comprising it re-asserted their aspirations for absolute independence, and a disorderly political structure of warring states re-appeared (Stern, 1995, p.49).

The decentralised structure of political order that characterised the Greek City-State society most resembles the state of affairs in modern international society. Panhellenic institutions such as the Oracle at Delphi³², the religious league or Amphictyony, and the Olympic Games symbolised a common Hellenic identity, while a diplomatic system, or system of *proxeny*, provided a primitive system of intercourse between the Hellenic States. Furthermore, a balance of power system operated so as to prevent the over-arching hegemony of any one city-state (Wight, 1977, pp.46-67). As Geoffrey Stern observes, tension and change were a hallmark of ancient Greek society,

³² The Oracle from the eighth century B.C.E. became a universal shrine for all Greeks (Wight, 1977, p.48).

“Given the bipolar tension in the Hellenic world of the fifth century B.C.E. there was always the danger that...a sudden increase or decrease in power by one side might spark off a conflagration involving the two major power protagonists and their allies and satraps” (Stern, 1995, p.51).

Thus, in this ‘egocentric’ society there was a constant battle to maintain the independence of city-states. Order and disorder co-existed within Hellenic society: the term *stasis* describes these recurrent revolutionary struggles (Northedge, 1976, p.45). In this dynamic society attempts by any one state to assert its coercive authority over the whole society, were harshly resisted by the other city-states and their ‘barbarian’ allies from outside. As David Hume observes this is what happened when Athens attempted to secure absolute hegemony over the entire society,

“In all the politics of Greece the anxiety with regard to the balance of power is most apparent...Thucydides represents the league which was formed against Athens, and which produced the Peloponnesian war, as entirely owing to this principle. And after the decline of Athens, when the Thebans and Lacedemonians disputed for sovereignty, we find the Athenians (as well as many other republics) threw themselves always into the lighter scale, and endeavoured to preserve the scale” (Hume, 1906, p.71).

Therefore, the Peloponnesian War was a counter-revolution against Athen’s avarice and ambition. After Athens was defeated, the Greek city-states continued to struggle against other attempts to assert hegemony over the Greek society of city-states.

As explained above, modern international society has been founded on the idea of absolute political independence, yet, in practice, states have restricted their freedom to manoeuvre by accepting “a vast and complex array of international institutions and conventions, which most of its members habitually obey” (Watson, 1985, p.1). Yet, these rules and common interests of state socialisation permit much more collective autonomy, and require lower levels of conformity than in the world empires cited above; for example, the Post-Westphalian polity is categorised as an ‘egocentric’ society.

The balance of power system, which operated in European society after 1648, evolved when eight or ten major states, together with several smaller ones, were able to group themselves together in various alliances, so as to create a semblance of equilibrium between them (Luard, 1992, p.6). The idea of power balancing, as in the Ancient Greek society, was based on the principle of anti-hegemonialism: the preservation of the independence of each state against the attempts of any one state to dominate the whole society was the system’s principal function. In fact the preservation of independence, and the prevention of a suzerain overlordship, was preferable to peace. The balance of power mechanism reached its apex in the Concert of Europe which was established after the Congress of Vienna in 1815: in effect, the European Concert was coterminous with the idea of power balancing. However, unlike Greek

society which had no concept of international law, European states gradually codified a system of 'positive' international law³³ between themselves, which at first only stated what princes habitually did, but as time passed it developed nuances of obligation, indicating what all states ought to do (Watson, 1985, pp.24-25; Kedourie, 1985, p.347-348; Wight, 1977, p.51).

As in the Greek state, European society went through periods of disorder resembling the Greek periods of *stasis*, only to have relative equilibria re-established when alliances were set up to counter the collective 'egoism' of aggressive states. Examples of such paroxysms were numerous:

“The intense hostility between France and Spain before 1700 (the two countries fought five wars against each other in 52 years); between England and France (evidenced in eight wars between 1665 and 1815); between Denmark and Sweden (three wars between 1657 and 1721); between Austria and Prussia (two wars between 1760 and 1763), stimulated the alliances each antagonist formed with like-minded states against its chief enemies” (Luard, 1992, p.259).

In addition, grand defensive alliances were formed to defuse the aggressive policies of certain states: for example, the aggressive stance of Louis XIV was countered by the League of Augsburg, an alliance comprised of Sweden, a few German states, and the United Provinces (ca.1681), while, the attempt by Spain to undermine the peace was countered by the Quadruple alliance, between Britain, France and the United Provinces of Austria in 1718 (Luard, 1992, p.257).

In addition to these periods of social turbulence within the 'civilised' confines of Europe, the collective *angst* of several colonial possessions undermined order within international society. Although the principles of absolute sovereignty and equality were integral ideas in modern international society, these ideals were clearly not accorded to the colonial dependencies. These colonies bore a stigma of inferior status, and in effect, there were “gradations of independence recognised by the European powers in the extra-European world, the spectrum of positions intermediate between full sovereignty and the status of a colony” (Bull, 1985, Ch.8, pp.118, 125-26). Accordingly, the first signs of extra-European 'social black holes' in the Post-Westphalian international society was the American war of independence: it represented a revolt against European colonial rule and a demand for absolute sovereignty and juridical equality (Watson, 1985, p.24; Bull, 1985, p.218). Subsequently, over the ensuing two centuries numerous other revolts against Western hegemony erupted in non-European societies. For example, Haiti, then called St. Domingue, underwent a black slave rebellion that led to the emergence of the first black state in 1804, and the Boxer uprising of 1900 symbolised mounting

³³ Positive international law, as opposed to natural law, was not based on the divine principles of Latin Christendom: it represents a body of law based on the customary practices and treaties between 'sovereign states' (Bull, 1977, p.35).

Chinese xenophobia and resentment to the Western presence. In the twentieth century numerous more reverses of Western domination, in Indonesia, Indo-China, the Suez, Cyprus, and Vietnam occurred as, one by one, dependencies cast off their European shackles and challenged Western notions of supremacy (Bull, 1985, Ch.14, p.220-221, 225; Vincent, 1985, p.243; Gong, 1985, pp.177-78). These recurrent 'social black holes', within the fabric of modern international society, mark a pattern of underlying turbulence which has been a recurrent feature of this society, as it has grown from a European clique of states to a political structure that is now global in scope.

In each of the case histories of 'egocentric' international societies a common feature has appeared: there has been an ongoing struggle to prevent the centralisation of authority by any one leader. For instance, in the case of the ancient Indian society an empire was created, albeit for a short period of time, only to disintegrate as the constituent states rejected the centralised hegemony of a lead state.

3.6.3. The Holy Roman Empire

The Mediaeval European international society, as will be demonstrated, was also a turbulent political system, and therefore the political dynamics in this society also fits the psychoanalytic order out of chaos model developed in this chapter. The Holy Roman Empire evolved out of the ashes and turbulence of the fallen Roman international society. Geoffrey Stern, in his book *The Structure of International Society* (1995), describes the chaotic legacy of the Mediaeval Society,

“The medieval society may be said to have begun when the European body politic experienced something akin to a collective nervous breakdown, with the demise, after a long illness, of the Roman empire in AD 476...In the case of medieval Europe the period of nervous collapse probably lasted until the 11th century as the successors to the now divided empire further fragmented...” (Stern, 1995, pp.60-61).

As Europe finally recuperated, the Holy Roman Empire was founded in C.E. 800 with Charlemagne as emperor. It represented an attempt to establish a centralised Christian empire, guided by the supra-national authority of the Papacy. Ultimately, Europe inherited a uniform religious idea, i.e. Christendom, which could, theoretically, act as a unifying factor throughout Europe. Yet, as Northedge has observed, in practice, the central religious institution, the Papacy, never controlled the vast array of provinces, cities and independent feudal estates which comprised Europe at the time,

“Nevertheless, the prevailing theory of government was that the local ruler was in some, not always well-defined, sense a viceroy of the Pope, and that all the local rulers taken together were brotherly co-operators in a single task-the governing of that magna civitas Christiana which was Europe” (Northedge, 1995, p.50).

In this international society a system of Natural law between states reflected the dominant feeling that all rights and duties of men were spelled out by Christian ethic (Bull, 1977, pp.28-29): this belief in a universal fellowship was intended to provide a unifying moral force which could weld states together in an harmonious brotherhood of man. Although a system of law existed between states in Mediaeval Europe there was no predictable or effective mode of enforcement: the political institutions of Latin Christendom were arranged in a decentralised, horizontal fashion, and consequently there was no social mechanism by which the entire structure could be regulated and co-ordinated. As a result, the Holy Roman Empire “proved to be exceptionally turbulent, dynamic, and enterprising” (Watson, 1985, p.13).

The ‘social black holes’ which emerged in this turbulent social structure are best represented by the final fragmentation of the society at the end of the Middle Ages in the fifteenth century. In the final years of the Holy Roman Empire, the mass defection of states from the old order, the lessening of control by the Roman Church over local policies, and the acceptance of a new order based on the secular principle of *raison d’état* marked the end of the society. As a result the society fragmented “into the tough national states which we know today” (Northedge, 1995, pp.50-51). The death knell for the Latin Christendom marked the beginning of the modern international society, described above.

The Holy Roman Empire, like Bull’s example of a Neo-Mediaeval world order, represents an historical example of a decentralised-altruistic society, the definition of which was outlined above. In theory, the Papacy aspired to supra-national authority, and the political sub-units across Europe paid some lip service to it. However, in this form of decentralised society minimal coercive powers were vested in the supra-national organs. Therefore, it is argued, that the unifying influence of the Papacy primarily represented the consensual: i.e. ego-ideal aspect of the ‘cultural superego’. In other words, the various political units comprising the empire were to co-operate in a brotherly association, with minimal social coercion, and thereby to comply with the edicts of the Papacy. In practice, however, the edifice gradually collapsed under its own weight.

3.6.4. Summary

In summary, the political dynamics of ‘egocentric’ international societies are the mirror image of centralised-coercive societies: ‘egocentric’ societies are characterised by greater degrees of independence (i.e. as compared to centralised-coercive societies) for member states, and consequently, states have fought against attempts to institute more restrictive forms of social cohesion. In contrast, in the above-mentioned centralised-coercive societies, social order has been, sporadically, disrupted by subjected states of the empire, and often times

aided by free barbarian groups outside of the empire's direct control, who challenge the institutions of social order within a particular society as they struggle for greater independence.

3.7.0. Conclusion

This chapter has transposed a psychological methodology, originally designed to analyse individual case histories, to consider the collective behaviour of domestic and international actors. In essence, this perspective is an example of what Hedemi Suganami calls the domestic analogy,

“The ‘domestic analogy’ is the presumptive assumption which holds that there are certain similarities between domestic and international phenomena; that, in particular, the conditions of order within states are similar to those of order between them” (Suganami, 1989, p.1).

In this chapter, a psychoanalytic ‘domestic analogy’ of international relations was developed in three main sections,

The first part of the chapter considered several examples where scholars, such as Carr, Manning, Luard, and Niebuhr, have attributed the characteristics and behaviour of individual persons to the actions of group-persons, specifically states. Like Freud, they have assumed that collectivities, such as states, are group-actors or social ‘organisms’. It was concluded that the executive functions of the state *apparatus*, which guides and regulates the external actions, i.e. foreign policy, of the state, resembles Freud's notion of the ‘ego’. Hence, the idea of the state *apparatus* as collective ‘ego’ was derived from this analysis.

Secondly, the idea of an international society was elaborated, and this way of looking at inter-state relations was correlated with the ‘id-ego-superego’ methodology developed in the previous two chapters. The decentralised institutions of the anarchical International Society were correlated to the coercive and ‘ego-ideal’ forms of socialisation described by the concept of the ‘superego’. A similar set of decentralised institutions were discovered between gangs in domestic society. Thus, it was concluded that the anarchical relations between gangs and states were quite similar.

Thirdly, these concepts were placed in the context of a psychoanalytic version of ‘order out of chaos theory’ to be applied to an analysis of international affairs. Conceptual tools were developed as part of setting up the framework for this paradigm: the idea of social ‘black holes’ which represent the collective ‘egoism’ of certain collectivities who reject the institutions of social cohesion within a particular society; and the categories of centralised-coercive, decentralised-altruistic, and egocentric international societies were developed. These ideas were integrated into a model of political interaction, based on psychoanalytic concepts, in order to describe the oscillation between social order and disorder that seems to characterise the political dynamics within pre-modern and modern international societies. In order to test this model

empirically, several historical examples of pre-modern and modern international societies were analysed from this psychoanalytic perspective. Accordingly, these international societies were classified into the egocentric, centralised-coercive, decentralised-altruistic categories. Additionally, these mini-case studies demonstrate that the process to establish social cohesion, order, and co-operation in international societies, co-exists with a reverse process, whereby political groups such as states attempt to assert their independence in political societies. This chapter has claimed that this recurrent historical phenomena can be represented, theoretically, by the dialectical tension of the 'id-ego-superego' model: for example in centralised-coercive societies, in which the institutions of social cohesion correlate to the extreme coercive aspect of the cultural superego, certain states resist these coercive forms of socialisation as they attempt to assert their individual autonomy.

In conclusion, the findings of this chapter would seem to confirm that the 'id-ego-superego' paradigm, as it has been adapted in this thesis, can provide a transhistorical and transcultural way of examining international societies, and the dynamic political interactions occurring within these societies. This conclusion follows those made in Chapter One where this model was used to provide an analysis of the political philosophies of several different civilisations. Furthermore, this chapter has shown how a certain methodology can be used to analyse political order in both domestic and international societies; this method will also be used in the Chapter Six, when the political behaviour of non-state actors in international politics is considered. The constructs developed in this chapter have, also, built the foundations by which more specialised topics such as foreign policy, war, and the Inter-Paradigm debate, will be examined in the final three chapters.

Chapter Four: Foreign Policy and the Collective 'EGO'

4.0.0. Introduction:

“There are mental processes that go beyond the capacity of any single individual, discoveries that may be the result of mental teamwork extending over several generations...If answers to these and similar questions should confirm the notion of social mind, or group mind, as meaningful, it would follow that there can be plural membership of minds-that one individual or smaller group can participate in several self-steering communications networks that generate and process thoughts” (Deutsch, 1966, pp.134-135).

Deutsch's comment demonstrates that the idea of the group 'mind' also appears in theories of state foreign policy-making. In particular, the books *The Nerves of Government* (1966), by Karl Deutsch and *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision* (1974), by John Steinbruner are examples of this strand of thinking in international relations: their analyses of the foreign policy actions of state governments are based on the idea of a cybernetic¹ model or group 'mind'. Although neither of these theorists have adopted a psychoanalytic methodology as the basis of their thesis, their analysis does have some parallels with the idea of the collective 'ego'. Accordingly, this chapter will develop further the idea of the collective 'ego' *with respect to* the foreign policy behaviour of states.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of the level-of-analysis debate in international relations. This analysis leads into a discussion of Steinbruner's and Deutsch's cybernetic models of decision-making. Subsequently, after describing the 'ego' psychology model, parallels between a cybernetic approach to the 'group' mind and Freud's idea of the 'ego' will be highlighted. In addition, the idea of the collective 'ego' will be compared and contrasted with the rational actor paradigm and Harold and Margaret Sprout's theory of the man-milieu relationship.

The next section begins with a brief overview of pre-existing psychiatric and psychoanalytic investigations into foreign policy and political behaviour. This analysis includes Freud's own dissection of Woodrow Wilson's personal and political psychology. These studies are limited to the individual level-of-analysis. Nevertheless, it will be argued that the psychoanalytic techniques of individual 'ego' psychology can be extrapolated to the collective, i.e. state, level in order to analyse the foreign policy behaviour of states. In order to understand how this might be accomplished it will be necessary to describe the psychology of the collective

¹ Cybernetics is defined as the “branch of science concerned with control systems and comparisons between man-made and biological systems” (Collins Dictionary, 1993, p.323), or alternatively, as “the science of the processes of communication and control in the animal and in the machine” (Dorland's Medical Dictionary, 1974, p.393).

'ego' in more depth: principles of 'ego' psychology, such as the defence mechanisms, anxiety, and psychosis, will be extrapolated from the individual to the collective, i.e. state, level-of-analysis to analyse the foreign policy conduct of states. Furthermore, to test this hypothesis empirically each psychoanalytic construct will be illustrated by citing the foreign policy behaviour of particular states. For example, the idea of paranoia will be demonstrated by referring to the foreign policies of Enver Hoxha's Albania and Kim Il Sung's North Korea. Both these states, it will be argued, displayed signs of paranoid disorders, in their collective interactions with other states.

The first three chapters attempted to extend psychoanalytic concepts from the individual to the collective level in order to analyse such concepts as international society and political theory. This chapter will apply this methodology to look at foreign policy behaviour, and more specifically the actions and interactions of individual states. It will be concluded that the institutional *apparatus* of the state, like the mental apparatus of a person, can be likened to Freud's notion of the EGO. The purpose of this analysis is to highlight how the theoretical constructs of the 'ego' psychology can be used as a model of foreign policy action, and is not intended to provide a thorough analysis of any particular countries' foreign policy actions.

4.1.0. The Level-Of-Analysis Debate

Attempts to characterise international relations from a theoretical and empirical perspective have been complicated by the question of what level-of-analysis is the most appropriate framework of inquiry. This section describes some main controversies in the level-of-analysis debate.

David Singer, in his paper *The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations (1961)*, differentiates between the micro-and macro-level-of-analysis. The macro-or 'system-oriented approach' concentrates on the external environment of states: this method of studying international relations involves the investigation of such topics as the emergence and disintegration of alliance systems and power configurations. This way of examining international politics assumes that the state is a unitary actor or "billiard ball": "by discounting-or-denying the differences among nations, or by positing the near-impossibility of observing many of these differences at work within them, one concludes with a highly homogenized image of our nations in the international system" (Singer, 1961, pp.80-82). The micro-or 'sub-systemic approach' concentrates on the "national state". This approach allows for the in-depth study of the specific decision-making processes and foreign policies of certain state actors. However, Singer notes that one of the risks of over-emphasising the differences between states is that "the observer is prone to attribute many of what he conceives to be virtues to his own nation and the vices to others, especially the adversaries of the moment" (Singer, 1961, pp.82-83).

Also, Wolfers (1959) observes, in his essay “*The Actors in International Politics*”, that a major analytic problem in international relations is choosing between “states-as-the-sole-actors” and “individuals-as-actors” (Wolfers, 1959, pp.83-84).

“...All the events occurring in the international arena must be conceived and understood from two angles simultaneously: one calling for concentration on the behavior of states as organized bodies of men, the other calling for concentration on human beings upon whose psychological reactions the behavior credited to states ultimately rests” (Wolfers, 1959, p.89).

Therefore, the level-of-analysis debate, as depicted by Wolfers and Singer, revolves around three analytic levels: the individual, the state, and the international system.

4.1.1. “The Nerves of Government”

Deutsch’s cybernetic model of decision-making and communication, in organisations such as state governments, is an holistic model which tries to fuse the external environment of the state, i.e. the systemic level, with the sub-systemic and individual levels of analysis. In this model, the formulation of foreign policy decisions by governments is likened to a neural network, i.e. a biological nervous system (Deutsch, 1966, pp.258-261, appendix): memory, consciousness, domestic and foreign input receptors, feedback and control mechanisms, and a “screen of repression” from consciousness are incorporated into this schema.

In effect, Deutsch’s model of government is a comparison of the activities of government with complex biological systems such as the “human brain”. Deutsch observes that similar theoretical ‘analogies’ have pre-dated the discovery of sophisticated forms of electronic communication and computer technology. Therefore, Deutsch contends that,

“The analogies cybernetics may suggest between communication channels or control processes in machines, nerve systems, and human societies must in turn suggest new observations, experiments, or predictions that can be confirmed or refuted by the facts” (Deutsch, 1966, p.80).

Furthermore, Deutsch argues that all discoveries in mathematics and in most areas of science are based on conceptual analogies: a good analogy in ‘scientific’ terms is one which seems to have a structural correspondence with what goes on in the real world. Accordingly, Deutsch notes that psychologists, for example Freud, employed a general conceptual scheme as a background by which the personality problems of individuals could be evaluated (Deutsch, 1966, pp.14-15, 76-79, 202-203).

Therefore, Deutsch believes that the ‘scientific’ utility of *analogies* is often misunderstood and underestimated. Furthermore, Deutsch’s ‘Nerves of Government’ thesis tries to demonstrate that cybernetics is a ‘good analogy’ to investigate decision-making systems (1966, p.78). Deutsch’s ‘nerves of government’ analogy involves an abstraction of such

concepts as 'consciousness' and 'mind' from the individual level to the level of the social group. Deutsch contends that, analogous to individual persons, a social group has a perception of autonomy and selfhood, and in order to function it must be capable of 'steering' itself in the world. To do this a society or community,

“must continue to receive a full flow of three kinds of information: first, information about the world outside; second, information from the past, with a wide range of recall and recombination; and third, information about itself and its parts” (Deutsch, 1966, p.129).

Furthermore, the 'brain' of both the individual and group 'self' possesses a 'conscious' awareness which allows it to monitor internal flows of information (Deutsch, 1966, p.129;p.202).

Therefore, Deutsch's model of government attempts to map out the idea of government as a collective 'mind'. Decision-making in this 'mind' may be very concentrated, i.e. conducted by a small number of persons: for example, Deutsch observes that decisions in absolute monarchies of seventeenth-and eighteenth-century Europe were in the hands of the sovereign and a few close advisers. In contrast, in the “modern unitary state” the system is more complex, yet, Deutsch asserts that “in practice, however, most of the important decisions still appear to be highly concentrated” (Deutsch, 1966, pp.209-10). Deutsch's model does allow for domestic and external inputs to the decision-making process, so in effect he tries to link the different levels-of-analysis into a single model. Thus, Deutsch's model is analogous to the human mind in that government is 'conscious' of the internal, i.e. domestic, and external milieux, and its actions are dependent on and linked to both environments.

4.1.2. Steinbruner's Cognitive-Cybernetic Model

Steinbruner's cognitive-cybernetic approach is also an holistic model which relates the process of decision-making within governments and bureaucracies to stimuli from the external environment.

The cybernetic component of this paradigm compares the decision-making mechanisms of organisations, such as government, to those of biological organisms,

“Careful examination shows that the decision mechanisms involved are used ubiquitously in the natural world by organisms running the range from army ants to man” (Steinbruner, 1974, p.87).

More specifically, the cybernetic model views the process of arriving at collective decisions in governmental bureaucracies as being conditioned by a set of standard operating procedures (SOPs) that act like 'programs': these organisational procedures act as a method of directing the decision process and therefore preventing 'chaos'. Furthermore, in large hierarchically arranged bureaucracies, these decision-programs cannot handle complex problems as a single

entity: problems are broken down into fragments and then the simpler components are handled separately. Also, like a thermostat, cybernetic decision-making processes must select distinct stimuli from the environment to avoid uncertainty and overload. As a result, organisations tend to be rigid and structured: their behaviour is conditioned by recipes for action based on past experience, which in turn, produces decisions that are 'good enough', i.e. 'satisficing': Steinbruner notes that this aspect of decision-making in complex bureaucracies corresponds to Graham Allison's Model II: Organisational Process Paradigm (Steinbruner, 1974, pp.51, 62, 66, 69, 71, 76-80, 87; Allison, 1971, pp.72, 78-96).

Nevertheless, the simple organisational process paradigm, according to Steinbruner, has its limitations: for example he observes that organisational arrangements are open to human manipulation. Therefore, Steinbruner proposes that this model should be supplemented by a "more elaborate treatment of the high-level thought processes of the human mind" (Steinbruner, 1974, p.87). He notes that human mental faculties, like the decision processes of government, do not become paralysed by indecisiveness in complex situations: "clearly great uncertainty does not in every case boggle the human mind or render it incapable of action" (Steinbruner, 1974, p.89). Thus, Steinbruner contends that his above-mentioned cybernetic paradigm cannot account for the capacity of the human mind to impose structure on highly ambiguous and complex situations. Therefore, Steinbruner supplements the cybernetic model with three main principles of human cognitive psychology. First, the human mind has the capacity to arrive at inferences about ambiguous situations based on its complex memory capacity. Secondly, he borrows Festinger's idea of cognitive dissonance (1957, pp.18-19): human perceptions are formed on the basis of pre-existing belief systems and knowledge, so as to reduce inconsistency. In other words, the presence of cognitive dissonance, i.e. inconsistencies in perception, in the human mind results in mental processes to reduce it. Thirdly, Steinbruner observes that human cognitions are guided by the reality principle which has been described in Freudian psychology,

"The third principle is what Freud called the reality principle. It simply asserts that the mind is in contact with its environment, that stable, important features of the environment impose themselves quite reliably on the mind. In other words, the operations of the mind are in important ways constrained by reality...The human mind does perceive things and in many instances gets it right" (Steinbruner, 1974, pp.100-101).

Therefore, the stereotyped responses that characterise the organisational model are expanded, in Steinbruner's model, to include the complex and adaptive processes of human neurological systems.

4.1.3. The Man-Milieu Relationship

The problem of matching the perceptions of the human 'mind' or organisational 'mind' with a complex and dynamic environment, as explained in Steinbruner's cognitive-cybernetic model, is also identified in the 'man-milieu relationship' described by Harold and Margaret Sprout (1957): like the other models cited above, it too tries to link the systemic to the state levels of analysis.

In the Sprouts' thesis, an "enviored unit" can be a person or a human grouping. The operational environment refers to the external environment of a particular 'unit', and the psychological environment includes all of the "enviored unit's own ideas or images". A major theme of the Sprout's analysis is that the perceptions of the external world within the 'psychological milieu' of an organisation or individual decision-maker, might not always correspond to the 'realities' of the external 'operational' environment (Sprout, 1957, pp.311, 318).

4.1.4. Rational Actor Model: The Black Box

Another foreign policy model which analyses the foreign-policy behaviours of states 'as if' they were made by a unitary human 'mind' is the Rational Actor Model: this model is described in Graham Allison's book, *Essence of Decision* (1971). This paradigm assumes that the state government is a unitary, rational decision-maker which reacts to events in its external environment by weighing all possible alternative actions, and consequences of those actions, against its primary goals of national security and national interest, and then arrives at the best 'rational' choice (Allison, 1971, pp.32-33). Furthermore, this model represents the government *apparatus* as a 'black box', a decision-making monolith,

"Model I's [Rational Actor Model] implication that important events have important causes, i.e. that monoliths perform large actions for large reasons, must be balanced by the appreciation that (1) monoliths are black boxes covering various gears and levers in a highly differentiated decisionmaking structure and (2) large acts result from innumerable and often conflicting actions by individuals at various levels of bureaucratic organizations" (Allison, 1971, pp.5-6).

Therefore, the rational-actor paradigm represents the government *apparatus* 'as if' it were a unitary 'mind' which is aware of all possible courses of rational action that it could take in reaction to events in the outside world.

The rational-actor model has been the subject of criticism. For example, Graham Allison, in *Essence of Decision* (1971), proposes that the 'black box' should be opened up and the decision-making processes within analysed: the remainder of Allison's thesis focuses on the theoretical and practical deficiencies of the Rational Actor paradigm.

4.2.0. The Ego and the Collective Ego

Although Freud wrote nothing about foreign policy analysis², it is argued that many principles of 'ego' psychology can be used to analyse the collective behaviour of states. Like the other foreign policy models cited above, Freud's 'ego' is based on a theory of how the human 'mind' functions. The remainder of this chapter will demonstrate how 'ego' psychology can provide a representation of foreign policy behaviour which links the external environment with the psychological 'milieu' of the state. However, in order to build this model the idea of the 'ego' and collective 'ego' will be expanded. First, some of the main features of 'ego' psychology will be outlined, and secondly these concepts will be extrapolated to the state level-of-analysis.

4.2.1. Reality Orientation

The problem of synchronising human perceptions of the external world with the 'realities' of a person's environment is a major theme in Freud's analysis,

"Reality will always remain 'unknowable'. The yield brought to light by scientific work from our primary sense perceptions will consist in an insight into connections and dependent relations which are present in the external world, which can somehow be reliably reproduced or reflected in the internal world of our thought and a knowledge of which enables us to 'understand' something in the external world, to foresee it and possibly to alter it" (Freud, *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis: The Psychological Apparatus and the External World*, 1964e, p.196).

Moreover, in order for the human senses to approximate the 'real' state of affairs in the external world "everything new that we have inferred must...be translated back into the language of our perceptions" (Freud, 1964e, *The Psychological Apparatus and the External World*, " p.196). In other words, Freud postulates that the perception of reality by the human mind depends on the individual's ability to make *inferences* about its environment: the tools of memory and language are a pre-conditions for this process.

The functions of perceiving and adapting to the 'reality' of the outside world is attributed to the 'ego' portion of Freud's psychological map: the 'ego' is conscious of both the internal and external world:

"The process of something becoming conscious is above all linked with the perceptions which our sense organs receive from the external world...It is true that we also receive conscious information from the inside of the body-the feelings....moreover, in certain circumstances the sense organs themselves transmit

² However, as was shown in Chapter Two, Freud did allude to historical examples, for example the analysis of Greek international politics and the Peloponnesian War, which reflected an understanding of the historical context and external realities in which states act and interact.

feelings, sensations of pain, in addition to the perceptions specific to them” (Freud, “*An Outline of Psycho-Analysis: Psychological Qualities*, ”1964f, p.161).

Therefore, consciousness refers to the portion of the human mind which monitors and is aware of the person’s internal psyche, as well as the outside world. In Freud’s model, the ‘ego’ represents the conscious aspect of the human mind in contact with the external surroundings: it acts like a executive manager, decision-maker, and arbiter between the internal and external environments (Badcock, 1994, pp.95-96). In this respect Freud compared the function of the ‘ego’ to,

“that of a constitutional monarch, without whose sanction no law can be passed but who hesitates long before imposing his veto on any measure put forward by Parliament” (Freud, 1962, p.45).

Freud refers to the process by which the ‘ego’ supervises its external and internal environments as ‘reality testing’³ (Freud, “*An Outline of Psycho-Analysis: Psychological Qualities*, ” 1964f, p.162). Reality-testing, above all, is important for the survival of the organism,

[The ego] “has the task of self-preservation. As regards external events, it performs that task by becoming aware of stimuli, by storing up experiences about them (in the memory), by avoiding excessively strong stimuli (through flight), by dealing with moderate stimuli (through adaptation) and finally by learning about expedient changes in the external world to its own advantage” (Freud, 1964d, “*An Outline of Psycho-Analysis: The Psychological Apparatus*”, p.145).

In effect the process of reality testing and orientation by the human ‘ego’ demands that the individual accepts “the hard facts of life, logical necessity, and of limitations to what could be achieved”. (Badcock, 1994, p.98). Thus, the ‘ego’ strives to be an instrument of rationality: “the ego represents what may be called reason and common sense” (Freud, 1962, p.15).

4.2.2. Ego perception and Anxiety

Since the main responsibility of the ‘ego’ is to assure self-preservation, it monitors dangerous signals from both internal and outside environments via sense perception: its entire rôle is to maintain a condition of safety for the human organism,

“The ego has set itself the task of self-preservation...It[the ego] makes use of the sensations of anxiety as a signal to give warning of dangers that threaten its integrity” (Freud, 1964e, *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis: The Psychological Apparatus and the External World*, p.199).

³ This concept infers, as Freud’s above-mentioned comments reveal, that the ‘ego’ is always testing its psychological perceptions of the outside world against its understanding of this environment.

Therefore, Freud implies that external threats to the ego may involve life-threatening events which endanger the ego's basic self-preservation interests, or less serious threats to its personal integrity⁴. Freud refers to these self-preservative and self-interested aspects of the 'ego' as 'ego-interests' (Freud, *Lecture XXVI: The Libido Theory and Narcissism*, 1963b, pp.414-415, footnote 2)⁵.

As part of the ego's goal to assure individual safety, it indicates impending danger through the mechanism of anxiety, which is defined,

“As a feeling, anxiety has a very marked quality of unpleasure...In other words an anxiety state is the reproduction of some experience which contains the necessary conditions for such an increase of excitation...It may be argued that anxiety is a reaction of which, in all probability, is common to every organism, certainly every organism of higher order” (Freud, 1936, p.96-99).

Moreover, an individual will enhance his chances for self-preservation if he can foresee impending trauma: dangerous circumstances in the past are identified and remembered as particular periods of vulnerability. Consequently, the ego's expression of anxiety represents the expectation of trauma; anxiety is based on a comparison between past encounters and present situational changes in a person's environment (Freud, 1936, p.161-162). Accordingly, anxiety is a signal of potential stress, and thereby functions to warn and protect the individual: even though a particular event might not have been anticipated, the anticipation of future danger, once an event is detected, is a fundamental protective function of the 'ego' (Hartmann, 1964, pp.39-40).

4.2.3. The Defence Mechanisms of the Ego

The 'ego, ' as the agency of the human mind that deals with incipient danger, is equipped with strategies, referred to as 'mechanisms of defence'. These defensive tactics allow the 'ego' to steer clear of perilous circumstances and to avoid the 'unpleasure' and conflict

⁴ Freud does not clearly state what he means by a threat to the integrity of the individual 'ego' but for the purposes of this paper it will be interpreted as meaning a threat to one's pride, honour, values, or material interests, which is consistent with Hartmann's assessment of 'ego' interests as outlined in the following footnote (i.e. number six).

⁵ Other psychoanalytic theorists such as Hartmann have expanded upon Freud's concept of *ego interests*: “From the point of view of psychological description we can characterize these strivings as a certain group of what in psychoanalysis we call *ego interests*, for instance, those concerned with social status, influence, professional success, wealth, comfort, and so forth” (Hartmann, 1964, p.64).

associated with anxiety-provoking situations⁶ (Freud, 1964a, "*Analysis Terminable and Interminable*", pp.235-36).

One example of a defence mechanism is what Freud referred to as 'splitting of the ego'. Psychoanalytical 'splitting' describes a process whereby the 'ego' maintains certain beliefs despite being simultaneously aware of information which contradicts those beliefs: the 'ego' compartmentalises this divergent information, and thereby avoids the potential anxiety of having to deal with a challenge to its belief system (Freeman, 1991, p.21; Freud, 1964i, "*Splitting of the Ego in Defence*", pp.275-276). For instance, an illustration of 'ego-splitting' would be represented by a (hypothetical) person who believes that smoking is an indispensable part of his daily life, but whose 'intellect' also realises that it is a definite cause of lung cancer, or, a man who believes in equality of opportunity between the sexes, but at the same time would not accept a woman as his supervisor. In these examples, by compartmentalising conflicting data the person's 'ego' attempts to avoid inconsistency, and thereby prevent the anxiety which would accompany a confrontation between these two divergent pieces of information. Thus, the individual's ego tries to avoid any challenge to its fundamental beliefs.

According to psychoanalytic theory, as Schwartz observes, defence mechanisms are generally considered to be a part of most people's psychological adaptation, however, if they are used excessively, as in psychotic disorders, they can lead to a distorted perception of internal and external reality. For example, one manifestation of psychosis is the reliance on defence mechanisms to such a degree that the person becomes detached from his environment (Schwartz, 1974, p.500). A cardinal manifestation of psychosis⁷ is that the person's 'ego' turns away from external reality (Freud, 1964h, *New Introductory Lectures: Lecture XXXI, Dissection of the Personality*, p.59), and by doing so the individual becomes more alienated (i.e.

⁶ Freud discusses the ego's mechanisms of defence in his later writings, such as his unfinished paper "*Splitting of the Ego in the Process of Defence*" (1940[1938]). Furthermore, in the article "*Analysis Terminable and Interminable*" written two years before his death, he notes that "Our knowledge of them [i.e. the mechanisms of defence] is not yet sufficiently complete. Anna Freud's book (1936) has given us a first insight into their multiplicity and many-sided significance" (Freud, 1964, pp.235-36). Therefore, Freud acknowledged his daughter's theoretical contribution to this area of psychoanalytic theory, and conceded that this area of psychoanalytic thinking required further refinement.

⁷ The standard definition of psychosis, as defined in Dorland's Medical Dictionary (1974, p.1283) is a "general term for any major mental disorder of organic and/or emotional origin characterised by derangement of the personality and loss of contact with reality, often associated with delusions, hallucinations, or illusions". In contrast, the neuroses are emotional disorders, such as obsessive-compulsion referred to in Chapter Two, "which do not involve gross distortions of external reality or disorganization of personality" (1974, p.1044). As the reader will notice, the current textbook medical definitions of these psychiatric conditions refers to such psychiatric concepts as reality-orientation which, as has been explained in this chapter, are also an integral part of Freud's psychological theory of the human 'mind'. In fact, as explained in footnote number 15 in this chapter, many psychological concepts that were discovered by Freud have now become common jargon in the psychiatric and psychological professions.

cut-off) from, and less able to maintain stable relationships with, the outside world. It is common, for example, for psychotic patients to harbour morbid delusions of persecution (Freud, 1964h, *New Introductory Lectures: Lecture XXXI, Dissection of the Personality*, p.59), which further limits their ability to relate with the outside world. Therefore, in psychoanalytic theory, it is recognised that there are limits to the ego's ability to be a rational 'actor' guiding the person towards 'objective' reality: psychosis is an example where the ego's reality function is not wholly effective.

4.2.4. The Collective 'Ego'

This section has mapped out the main features of 'ego' psychology. This was intended as a preamble to the analysis of the state *apparatus* via 'ego' psychology. The idea of the collective 'ego', as suggested in chapter three, is an abstraction of the concept of the 'ego' to the state-level-of-analysis. The main argument of this chapter is that the decision-making institutions of the state-actor, i.e. government and bureaucracy, are placed in a similar existential predicament as the individual 'ego': the state *apparatus* has the responsibility to negotiate and guide the self-preservation interests for the collective state-person, just as the 'ego' does for the individual person. Furthermore, the *apparatus* of the state in foreign affairs, ideally, acts in such a way as to orientate the collectivity towards the 'reality' of the outside world: it must gather information about the outside world⁸ in order to form perceptions about it. Thus, like the individual 'ego', the state *apparatus* must sense and monitor its surroundings. Furthermore, this chapter will demonstrate how the concepts of 'ego' anxiety, reality orientation, and defence mechanisms relate to state foreign policy behaviour.

4.3.0. The Collective-Mind in Foreign Policy

In this part, before turning to a psychoanalytic examination of individual state foreign policies, the similarities and differences between a psychoanalytic analysis of the state 'mind' and the above-mentioned models will be explained.

The concept of the 'ego', if extrapolated to the collective level of analysis, would seem to address many of the principal concepts employed in the foreign policy models summarised at

⁸ Obviously the means that individuals and states use for perceiving and sensing the environment are completely different. The individual's ego uses the primary senses, whereas, the state *apparatus* uses means such as spy satellites, regular diplomatic channels, and listening posts to hear and see the external environment. However, the end result of these sensing mechanisms, for both the individual self and the state actor, is a perception of the external environment.

the beginning of the chapter⁹. All of these paradigms, like 'ego' psychology, have their foundations in theories of the human 'mind' abstracted to the 'macro' state level-of-analysis. The areas of apparent overlap between 'ego' psychology and these other models are as follows:

First, ego psychology deals with the adaptive and directive functions of human consciousness which are mentioned in Deutsch's thesis. In both Deutsch's 'nerves of government' analogy and the idea of the 'ego', the 'mind' is in contact with, and conscious (i.e. aware) of, its internal and external environments, and is responsible for steering the actions of the self.

Secondly, the description of the 'ego' includes the cognitive processes outlined in Steinbruner's cognitive-psychological model. As noted, Steinbruner uses Freud's reality principle in his analysis as one of the three components of cognitive psychology cited in his book. Furthermore, he implies that Freud's concept of reality orientation is a separate analytic variable from the other two psychological processes, memory/inference and cognitive consistency, which form the basis of his cognitive psychology model. However, as explained in the previous section, Freud's model of reality formation by the 'ego' includes these other two variables as essential components for the perception of the external world. Moreover, when Steinbruner refers to Festinger's concept of cognitive dissonance, in his discussion of how the human 'mind' maintains psychological consistency, he does not seem to be aware that the psychoanalytic theory of 'splitting of the ego' is similar to the concept of cognitive dissonance¹⁰. Furthermore, as will be shown later in this chapter, other defence mechanisms such as rationalisation and denial are, according to 'ego' psychology, used to maintain mental consistency. Therefore, Steinbruner's psychological map of the human mind has more points of overlap with 'ego' psychology than his discussion of Freud's reality principle.

Thirdly, as explained above, Freud's concept of reality orientation considers the perceptual problem of matching the psychological world to the reality of the external environment. A similar perceptual problem is considered in the analysis by Harold and Margaret Sprout: in the Sprout's paper the mental picture of the operational environment becomes distorted to certain degrees as it is transcribed within the psychological milieu. Likewise, Freud makes a similar observation when he notes that the exact nature of the external

⁹ Freud's work pre-dated these other models, but this is not to imply that Deutsch's, Steinbruner's, or the Sprout's models of the group 'mind' were designed according to a psychoanalytic methodology, even though Freud was mentioned in both Deutsch's and Steinbruner's books (see above).

¹⁰ See for example Freeman's paper "*The Human Brain and Political Behaviour*" (1991, p.21) where he discusses 'ego' splitting and cognitive dissonance in terms of political behaviour. In both models the individual's mind attempts to reduce the conflict or dissonance that would be associated with the recognition of divergent belief systems. The ultimate aim in both of these models is to avoid the anxiety associated with the simultaneous recognition of conflicting beliefs and information.

environment is ‘unknowable’: in other words, the human ‘ego’ must make informed inferences about the outside world, and thereby try to match its mental image with the actual external ‘reality’.

Therefore, there are certain similarities between these holistic models of foreign policy and the assumptions of ‘ego’ psychology. However, there are also fundamental differences between ‘ego’ psychology and the portrayal of the human ‘mind’ documented in these foreign policy models. The following explanation by Freud in his paper “*The Mind and its Workings* (1964c)” will help to explain these differences,

“We know of two kinds of things about what we call our psyche (or mental life): firstly, its bodily organ and scene of action, the brain (the nervous system), and on the other hand, our acts of consciousness, which are immediate data and cannot be further explained by any sort of description” (Freud, 1964c, p.144).

In other words, in this definition, Freud proposes that the first component of the human mind is what is studied by the neurosciences: it focuses on the neuro-anatomical¹¹ structures (i.e. anatomical parts) and neuro-physiology¹² (i.e. bio-chemical control and feedback systems) of the nervous system and brain. In contrast, the second component, which defines psychoanalysis, and indeed much of general psychiatric thinking, studies the mental disorders, perception, and consciousness (i.e. awareness), characteristics of human personality, and the reactions, for example anxiety, of the individual as he interacts with his environment. In addition, as Freud explains, the concepts and terms used in psychoanalysis to analyse these aspects of the human mind are the product of observing human behaviour and experience (Freud, 1964b, *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis: Preface*, p.144)¹³.

Freud’s identification of two aspects in the study of the human ‘mind’ can be correlated with the foreign policy models cited above. For example, it would seem that Deutsch’s ‘nerves

¹¹ Neuroanatomy, as defined by Dorland’s Medical Dictionary, refers to “that branch of neurology which is concerned with the anatomy of the nervous system” (1974, p.1039)

¹² Neuro-physiology as defined by Dorland’s Medical Dictionary, refers to “the basic processes underlying the functioning [of the nervous system] of a species or class of organism, or any of its parts or processes” (1974, pp.1043, 1194)

¹³ Though Freud’s theories concentrate on this second aspect of the mind it should be remembered that he also studied and researched in the more ‘mechanical’ area of neurology. Moreover, Nigel Walker, proposes that Freud’s observations, in the early part of this century, about the control mechanisms of the human central nervous system (i.e. the first component of investigations into the human ‘mind’), for example his assertion that the human central nervous system seeks to protect itself from over-stimulation, actually anticipated the science of cybernetics forty years later. Nevertheless, Walker also observes that Freud’s formulations were hardly recognised, and “it was left to the more mechanically-minded neurologists and cyberneticists to rediscover it on their own” (Walker, 1977, pp.38-39). Also, as noted above, both Deutsch and Steinbruner have used these ‘mechanical’ neuro-cybernetic approaches to analyse the decision-making apparatuses of states.

of government' thesis, as the title implies, concentrates almost wholly on the first aspect, i.e. the anatomical features and control systems, of the mind. In other words, his model of the governmental 'mind' attempts to map out an anatomical description of the process of decision-making 'as if' it were a biological control system¹⁴: the components of government are compared to the human neurological system. Deutsch describes conscious awareness and perception of the environment by the governmental mind, which are features of Freud's second aspect of the mind, but primarily he concentrates on the first type of analysis. Also, Steinbruner's cybernetic approach focuses on the first, i.e. anatomical, component of the human mind: his analysis describes the decision-making components, and feedback control systems, of organisations, and then compares them with biological organisms. Nevertheless, by combining cybernetics with cognitive psychology he also deals with the second aspect of the human 'mind', to a certain extent: this analysis, however, is limited to a study of the perception of the external environment.

In contrast to Deutsch's and Steinbruner's cybernetic models of the group 'mind', the analysis of the state as a collective 'ego' will concentrate on the second aspect of Freud's definition of the mind. Similarly, the Sprouts' model would also seem to focus on the second component of the 'mind': their analysis, however, is limited to the perception of the external environment by the human mind, and the corresponding constraints that this environment can impose on individual/group action. In contrast, rather than concentrating, primarily, on the problems of perceiving the external environment, as the Sprouts have done, a psychoanalytic analysis of the state will analyse the foreign policy actions of states using axioms that psychoanalysts employ to analyse individual behaviour, psychological disorders, and mechanisms of defence that the individual employs in reaction to external threats. This method of inquiry uses many concepts common to both clinical psychoanalysis and psychiatry¹⁵.

Therefore, although a psychoanalytic methodology presumes that the anatomical structures of the mind are essential for human action and behaviour, this analytic method does

¹⁴ For example, Deutsch's diagram in *Nerves of Government*, entitled *A Crude Model: A Functional Diagram of Information Flow in Foreign Policy Decisions* (1966, p.258), is an attempt to represent the 'circuitry' of the governmental 'mind'.

¹⁵ It should be noted that terms such as psychosis, defence mechanisms, anxiety are commonly employed by both psychiatrists and psychoanalysts. In fact, in North America most psychoanalysts are also trained psychiatrists/physicians (Schwartz, 1974, pp.489-90), but not all psychiatrists are psychoanalysts. Furthermore, the field of personality psychology has borrowed psychoanalytic terms, such as the system of defence mechanisms, as part of their analytic structure (See for example *Chapter 11: Personality Psychology*, pp.369-380, Morgan and King, 1971). Whereas, the theory of the defence mechanisms and 'ego' psychology are psychoanalytic discoveries, Freud recognised that there were significant areas of overlap and common purpose between psychiatry and psychoanalysis (Lecture XVI, 1963c, p.244).

not include a detailed description of the anatomical components, i.e. the circuitry of the brain, and control mechanisms of the human brain. Likewise, the assumption that the state *apparatus* acts like a collective 'ego' will presume that the complex decision-making apparatus of the state is essential for it to interact with its environment, however, this analysis of state behaviour will not focus on this aspect of the 'mind'. On the one hand, a psychoanalytic analysis of foreign policy actions, as outlined in this thesis, will assume that Deutsch's 'nerves of government' are a necessary pre-condition for states to interact with, and react to, their environment, which are also functions of the human brain. In some countries these foreign policy actions and policies may be taken by a small clique, or even in the case of a country like the Soviet Union under Stalin's rule, by a single person, whereas, in other countries, such as the democratic Western states, the actions of states are often dictated by the complex arrangements of 'pulling and hauling' (Allison, 1971, p.261) within bureaucracies and governments¹⁶. However, a study of these different arrangements for making decisions, it is argued, resembles an anatomical and functional description of the 'mind', albeit here a group mind, and therefore will not be considered in depth in the psychoanalytic study of foreign policy, proposed herein. On the other hand, the psychoanalytic study of the group 'mind' will concentrate on the actions and reactions (e.g. anxiety and defence mechanisms), and distortions of external reality (e.g. delusions) of the collective-state-ego, i.e. Freud's second aspect of the mind.

Finally, the black box or rational-actor model, like the model of the 'ego', studies the 'mind' from a unitary perspective. However, unlike the rational-actor model the 'ego' model does not assume that the human 'mind' is capable of completely knowing its external environment: the 'ego's' perception of external reality is subject to distortions. Therefore, reason and the maintenance of individual security are aspirations of the 'ego', and consequently, the individual's ego tries to defend its interests from external threats, but, the human mind, as explained above, may form distorted perceptions of external reality: moreover, these misrepresentations of reality originate within the actor's own mind, as happens in delusional and psychotic mental disorders. In addition, the rational actor model is not based on a psychoanalytic or psychiatric method.

4.3.1. Summary

Thus far, this chapter has introduced the idea of the collective 'ego' as a conceptual analogy between the individual and collective levels-of-analysis. Furthermore, as Deutsch argues, such theoretical analogies are common approaches in both the social and natural sciences. In

¹⁶ Also, Deutsch observes that the configurations of decision-making may vary between governments: for instance, oligarchies and personal dictatorships would be an example of concentrated sovereignty, i.e. authority, in contrast to more diffuse forms of decision-making in democratic states (Deutsch, 1966, pp.211-212)

terms of Singer's levels-of-analysis, the analogy of the state *apparatus* as a collective 'ego' is an attempt to fuse the external environment of states to the state level-of-analysis¹⁷.

The remainder of this chapter will demonstrate this psychoanalytic model in inter-state relations. The argument will be constructed under three main headings: the first part will outline some previous psychoanalytic analyses of international affairs, the psycho-biographies of world leaders, history, and politics; the next part will show how these psychoanalytical studies of politics differ from the one proposed in this thesis; and finally, the main features of collective 'ego' psychology, as it applies to the foreign policy behaviour of states, will be tested empirically by means of historical examples.

4.4.0. Psychoanalysis and Politics

Most of the pre-existing work in the area of psychoanalysis and politics has been devoted to a psychological study of political figures. For example, Freud collaborated with William Bullitt¹⁸ to examine the political career and life of President Woodrow Wilson. Their basic argument is that Woodrow Wilson developed a passive identification with a strong and charismatic father, a Christian minister, which reached levels of hero worship. Later in life, according to Freud and Bullitt, this passivity, in face of strong male figures such as Lloyd-George and Clemenceau, made Wilson surrender his 'moral' principles and agree to unjust clauses, such as the heavy war reparations on Germany, during the negotiations towards ratification of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Furthermore, Freud and Bullitt contend that in order for Wilson's ego to defend these major political compromises, he resorted to elaborate psychological rationalisations (Bullitt, 1967, pp.47-55, 199-203, 209-211, 225-228).

Stalin's psyche and psychopathology have been studied by numerous biographers (Freeman, 1991, p.27). For example, Tucker in his book *"Stalin As Revolutionary (1973), "* describes the savage beatings suffered by Stalin¹⁹ and his mother, and the resulting hatred that Stalin felt towards his father, as a major source of the contempt that he later developed towards

¹⁷ Deutsch's, Steinbruner's, and the Sprouts' models also represent holistic maps of foreign policy behaviour, but, as explained above their methodology diverges from the psychoanalytic approach of this paper.

¹⁸ Bullitt knew Wilson personally, and was an American attaché to the American commission to negotiate peace (Versailles Treaty of 1919) in the Department of State (Roazen, 1968, p.300; Bullitt, 1967, pp.234-235). Therefore, in their psycho-biography of Wilson, Bullitt attempts to combine his first-hand knowledge of Woodrow Wilson with Freud's psychoanalytic/psychiatric expertise. However, the book has been criticised for, among other things, its lack of research into the social milieu in which Wilson grew up, and its attempts to relate the inner psychological disorders of individuals to particular political events, such as the foreign policy decisions of the United States (Roazen, 1968, p.309).

¹⁹ Stalin's original name was Soso Djughashvili.

persons of authority standing above him. In addition, Stalin, as his mother's only living child, had a very strong relationship with her: despite his father's protestations she helped him to aspire to goals which went beyond the usual aspirations of a Georgian peasant family. Tucker observes that the nature of Stalin's family background, and the fact that his mother invested all of her energies in him, supports Freud's remark that "a man who has been the indisputable favourite of his mother keeps for life the feeling of a conqueror, that confidence of success that often induces real success" (Tucker, 1973, pp.69-82; Freud, 1925, p.367). Accordingly, Tucker proposes that his mother's idealisation and worship of him led to Stalin's later self-idealisation, which manifested itself in his identification with hero-figures: this would later lead to him, as young man, to worship Lenin as the model revolutionary. Also, Tucker notes that Stalin's wish to be like the 'great man', i.e. hero-figure, Lenin, can be explained by Freud's theory of identification: "identification endeavours to mould a person's ego after the fashion of the one that has been taken as a model" (Tucker, pp.76, 134-135; Freud, 1985b, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, p.135). In addition to Tucker's analysis, other analysts, such as Daniel Rancour-Laffiere, have observed that underlying Stalin's exaggerated self-image, and desire to conquer and dominate others, was a fear of external aggression directed towards himself, which was a remnant of his childhood beatings. Rancour-Laffiere, in his book "*The Mind of Stalin (1988)*" suggests that this recurrent anxiety about possible external aggressors, led Stalin to utilise the ego defence mechanism 'identification with the aggressor', first described by Anna Freud²⁰. Furthermore, Rancour-Laffiere suggests that this might have led Stalin to identify with Russia (Georgia's aggressor) and eventually Hitler²¹ (Rancour-Laffiere, 1988, pp.51-56; Freeman, 1991, p.27). In addition, besides Stalin's megalomania, his paranoid tendencies²² and the political repercussions of this disorder, for example in the Kremlin Doctors case, ²³ are also well documented (Tucker, 1973, p.74; Rancour-Laffiere, 1988, pp.18-21).

²⁰ This ego defence mechanism describes the process whereby the individual's ego reduces the anxiety associated with the threat of aggression from an outside object, by identifying and allying oneself with that aggressive object (Freud, A., 1966, pp.109-121; Rancour-Laffiere, 1988, pp.51, 125-26; Freeman, 1991, p.27; Schwartz, 1974, p.502).

²¹ The identification with Hitler refers to the Nazi-Soviet Pact, a treaty of non-aggression, signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop in Moscow on 23 August, 1939 (Palmer, 1990, pp.296-297).

²² For example, in *The Mind of Stalin* by Daniel Rancour-Laffiere, the medical histories of the Kremlin physicians and one neuropathologist who diagnosed Stalin's paranoid condition are cited (1988, p.122).

²³ A group of Kremlin doctors were imprisoned in the 1950s on the grounds of conspiring to reduce the longevity of Soviet leaders, particularly Stalin (Tucker, 1973, p.74).

Additionally, in Mark White's book *The Cuban Missile Crisis* (1996), he claims that Khrushchev's personality was characterised by an "inferiority complex" and an "acute sense of insecurity". Khrushchev was born into abject poverty and received only two or three years of formal education, and as a result, according to White, he developed "a gargantuan chip on his shoulder" and a desire for the recognition of his own importance. Furthermore, White proposes that Khrushchev's insecurity and need for recognition "translated into a desire for recognition of Soviet power on the part of the international community, especially the United States (White, 1996, pp.62-63).

Finally, a psycho-biography of Margaret Thatcher, "*Margaret, daughter of Beatrice* (1989)", claims that the lack of maternal warmth and empathy in her childhood contributed to the contempt that she, allegedly, feels towards her mother ²⁴. Abse suggests that in order to reduce the anxiety and contempt associated with the memory of her mother, Thatcher has denied²⁵ her very existence (Abse, 1989, pp.23-24). As well, the ego deprivation from Thatcher's childhood, i.e. the lack of maternal affection, Abse contends, has persisted and helps to account for "her ceaseless fury [which] has reverberated around our domestic politics and has been dangerously injected into her conduct of British foreign affairs" (Abse, 1989, p.25).

Besides the individual psycho-biographies of prominent political figures, other writers have tried to demonstrate the importance of psychoanalytic ideas to an analysis of history and politics. For example, Gay, in his book *Freud for Historians* (1985), asserts that all historians are 'amateur psychologists'. Moreover, with this point in mind, he feels that psychoanalysis could offer historians a particular psychological technique for 'seeing the past' (Gay, 1985, pp.6, 210). Nevertheless, he proposes that psychoanalysis must come to terms, theoretically, with the historians' preoccupation with the concept of self-interest,

"Self-interest explains, at least to most historians' satisfaction, the performance of diplomats during negotiations, the movement of troops across frontiers, the maneuvering of policy makers among fiercely competing blocs known...as "interest groups" (Gay, 1985, p.100).

Furthermore, he suggests that 'ego psychology', where the ego strives "for what is 'useful', egoism and self-assertion" (Hartmann, 1964, p.135), could be a starting point for a psychoanalytic analysis of self-interest in social science disciplines, such as political science and history (Gay, 1985, p.106).

²⁴ One piece of evidence that Abse uses to support his claim is Margaret Thatcher's omission of her mother's name from her entry into *The International Who's Who*. Her entry, prepared by herself, reads, "d.[daughter] of the late Alfred Roberts" (1993, p.1551), and no mention is made of her mother.

²⁵ Denial is a ego defence mechanism, whereby "the ego flatly refuses to see something that is obviously true because to recognise the reality would cause the ego much pain...This mechanism may also involve distortions of reality (misinterpreting reality)" (Schwartz, 1974, p.p.505).

Other writers, for example Hans Meyerhoff, emphasise the similarities between history and psychoanalysis,

“Psychoanalysis and history have a great deal in common...because though formulated as a strictly psychological theory, psychoanalysis cannot be divorced from a study of history and society” (Meyerhoff, 1987, p.17).

Also, like the psychoanalyst, Meyerhoff observes that one of the main tasks of the historian is to interpret the ‘states of mind’ of the human beings involved in certain historical events, and to explain their actions, feelings, and motivations (Meyerhoff, 1987, p.19).

In addition, other papers, such as Hugh Freeman’s *The Human Brain and Political Behaviour* (1991) provides an overview of psychiatric, psychological, and psychoanalytical concepts pertaining to the study of politics. The paper begins with a review of the structure of the brain, and in this section he compares the human mind with the programming of a computer. The remainder of his essay concentrates on clinical disorders of the brain, such as ageing, psychoses, and fatigue, which might adversely affect the abilities of political figures to withstand the pressures of their work. Freeman also provides an overview of several psychoanalytic studies, including some of those quoted above, of politics and world leaders: this analysis is limited to an investigation of the minds of individual personalities.

Finally, in addition to Freud’s own writings on aggression, other authors, for example Lasswell (1935) and Durbin and Bowlby (1939), have written, from a psychoanalytic perspective, about state conflict. These particular works will be examined in more detail in the next chapter.

4.4.1. International Politics and Psychoanalytic Theory

Though theorists, such as Meyerhoff and Gay, emphasise areas of theoretical overlap between historical and psychoanalytic methods, the actual applications of psychoanalysis to political and historical issues has not proceeded much further than psycho-biographical accounts of influential world leaders. As the above-mentioned case histories demonstrate, psychoanalytic concepts in politics and history have been employed to analyse the ‘minds’ of individual men and women; psycho-biographers have tried to link the psycho-milieu, and the personal psychological histories, of their subjects with their social and political behaviour.

Although Gay suggests that psychoanalytic concepts, such as ‘ego’ psychology, could contribute more to political science (1985, p.106), the idea of abstracting ‘ego’ psychology to the state level-of-analysis, in order to analyse the collective state ‘mind’, was not discussed in his analysis. Nevertheless, the next section will apply concepts such as anxiety, defence mechanisms, ‘ego’ self-interest, and psychosis, to analyse state foreign policy actions. In order to demonstrate these principles, the case histories of various states’ foreign policy behaviour

will be highlighted. However, in contrast to the psycho-biographies cited above, these case studies will not try to link the life experiences and psychological disorders of individual world leaders directly to political events. Rather, the analysis of the collective state 'ego' examines the foreign policy statements and actions taken on behalf of a particular state, by statesmen, bureaucratic officials, or otherwise. For example, this analysis would include the foreign policy statements and impressions of Enver Hoxha as they relate to the inter-state actions and interactions of Albania, but would exclude any information or statements which pertain to his personal life, such as details of his childhood development, outside of his rôle as the head of state. In other words, information about his personal psychological evolution would be matters for a psychoanalytic study of Hoxha's 'mind' at the individual level-of-analysis.

4.5.0. A Psychoanalytical Approach to Foreign Policy

In the following study several historical examples will be cited which illustrate particular psychoanalytic concepts. This analysis will include the principle concepts of 'ego' psychology outlined above. It must be stressed, however, that the purpose of using case studies is not to offer an extensive or in-depth foreign policy analysis of any one states' behaviour. Instead, these brief case histories are meant to show how 'ego' concepts pertain to the actions of state collectivities in general, and to certain foreign policy concepts such as crisis behaviour, power, and self-interest. Therefore, the empirical evidence of defence mechanisms, anxiety, and psycho-pathology in state foreign policies is intended to be an empirical test of the 'ego' psychology model at the state level-of-analysis.

4.5.1.0. Collective Ego Anxiety and International Crises

The definitions of a foreign policy crisis in international relations, this author argues, resembles, in major respects, Freud's definition of 'ego' anxiety. This segment will: cite the two 'standard' definitions of an international crisis, draw parallels between these definitions and Freud's explanation of 'ego' anxiety, and then show how the ideas of collective 'ego' anxiety and reality orientation, for example, relate to the Cuban Missile crisis. The purpose of this analysis is not to substitute a psychoanalytic definition for the present standard explanations of international crises, but rather, to show how the idea of 'ego' anxiety applies to state behaviour in times of perceived danger.

Hermann's definition of a crisis, widely quoted in the literature²⁶, is as follows,

²⁶ John Vogler notes that Hermann's explanation is "a well-established, although not universally accepted definition of a crisis" (Vogler, 1989, p.151). For example, Brecher criticises Hermann's reference, in his definition, to high priority goals as an ambiguous concept.

“A crisis is a situation that (1) threatens high-priority goals of the decision-making unit, (2) restricts the amount of time available for response before the decision is transformed, and (3) surprises the members of the decision-making unit by its occurrence” (1969b, p.414).

In Hermann’s definition the element of surprise means that the crisis situation was not anticipated.

Brecher offers a slightly different explanation of an international crisis than Hermann,

“A foreign policy crisis is a situational change in the external or internal environment that creates in the minds of the incumbent decision-makers of an international actor a perceived threat from the external environment to basic values to which a responsive decision is deemed necessary” (Brecher, 1978, p.6).

A threat to basic values, referred to in Brecher’s definition, includes a threat to the “survival of the society and its population, political sovereignty, and territorial independence” (Brecher, 1978, p.8). In addition, Vogler supplements these two definitions by observing that a threat from the external environment during times of crisis causes the stress levels amongst decision-makers to escalate abruptly (Vogler, 1989, p.151).

According to the ego psychology model of foreign policy behaviour being constructed in this chapter it would seem that a state of anxiety for the individual ‘ego’, as outlined above, overlaps with the above-mentioned explanations of a crisis situation for international actors, i.e. states, in six major respects:

First, ‘ego’ anxiety signals the perception of a threat from the external environment, in a similar way that a crisis situation for states signals impending danger from some outside agent or force.

Secondly, an external danger which threatens the basic objectives of the ‘ego’ to maintain the survival interests of the individual, is analogous to a threat to the state’s security, in an international crisis, which jeopardises the independent existence, i.e. sovereignty, and survival of the state collectivity. Therefore, both ‘ego’ anxiety associated with threats to basic survival, and a state crisis which endangers state sovereignty, represent a threat to the self-preservation interests of an individual or state actor.

Thirdly, ‘ego’ anxiety is associated with increasing stress levels, a state of alert, and excitation for the individual, which seems to parallel the high stress levels and state of vigilance experienced by decision-makers who must act on behalf of the state collectivity.

Fourthly, ‘ego’ anxiety indicates the possibility of individual trauma, especially in life-threatening circumstances, and prepares the individual to defend himself. Brecher includes a similar concept in his definition: the state must be prepared to make a response in case it has to defend itself in face of threats to its self-preservation values.

Fifthly, Hermann's 'surprise' component²⁷ of a crisis also seems to equate with Freud's observations about individual ego anxiety. For example, Freud, in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1961), notes that "'fright'...is the name we give to a state a person gets into when he has run into danger without being prepared for it; it emphasizes the factor of surprise". Furthermore, Freud contends that 'ego' 'anxiety' also helps to allay fear by preparing the individual to defend himself in surprise situations of danger (Freud, 1961, pp.12-13). Similarly, Hermann's 'factor of surprise' in international crises would seem to correlate with a heightened state of-unanticipated danger-at the state level-of-analysis.

Sixthly, in both Hermann's and Brecher's definitions the decision-making process would seem to act as a 'mind'. For example, Hermann's definition refers to the decision-making unit 'as if' it were a single mind which negotiates the state through a dangerous situation. In addition, although Brecher refers to 'incumbent decision-makers' in his explanation of a crisis, it is understood that they act by proxy for the 'international actor' (i.e. state): a crisis exists because decision-makers perceive that the state is threatened.

Therefore, there would seem to be a significant theoretical symmetry between the two above-mentioned definitions of a state crisis, and the theory of individual anxiety in ego psychology. The following example of the Cuban Missile Crisis will show how the psychological concepts of ego reality-testing and anxiety pertain to state behaviour during times of crisis.

4.5.1.1. The Cuban Missile Crisis

As noted above, in order for the 'ego' to experience psychological reactions, such as anxiety, it must be able to sense and perceive its environment as part of testing reality. The same would seem to apply to states. For example, the Cuban missile crisis started when a U-2 reconnaissance flight over the San Cristobal area of Cuba, on October 14, 1962, photographed Soviet missile installations. The San Cristobal missiles were readily identified as Soviet SAMs, MRBMs, and IRBMs²⁸ because the photos from this flight were compared with ones from previous American Defence Intelligence Agency U-2 flights over the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Sorensen has noted that if a U-2 flight had flown over this area of Cuba

²⁷ Brecher chooses to omit the element of surprise because certain crises are anticipated. For example, the change of events created by the Soviet Union in Berlin in August, 1961 when the cities' borders were sealed off, did not come as a total surprise to American foreign policy makers (Brecher, 1978, p.7).

²⁸ These acronyms stand for surface-to-air anti-aircraft, medium range ballistic, and intermediate-range ballistic missiles (Allison, 1971, pp.44, 55). On October 15, 1962, CIA photographic experts studied the U-2 pictures taken the previous day and identified MRBM and IRBM missiles in the San Cristobal photos. This was the first evidence of long-range missiles in Cuba.

on a previous flight in late September, 1962, the missiles could have been detected earlier (Allison, 1971, pp.55, 107, 118; Hermann, 1969a, p.1; Sorensen, 1965, p.675). These historical observations from the Cuban Missile crisis would seem to illustrate three main features of 'ego' reality-testing: first, in a similar way that the individual ego senses and perceives its external reality, the U-2 flights were responsible for the perception and sensing of America's external reality; secondly, in a similar way that the individual ego makes inferences on the basis of past memories, the stored 'memory' of the United States' intelligence agency allowed it to make inferences about America's external environment, and to subsequently reach a final conclusion about the data that was collected by the U-2 'sensors'; and thirdly, in a similar way that the ego's perception of reality might contain some distortions of external reality the perception of the external environment, before October 14, 1962, by the American intelligence agency and bureaucrats, who acted on behalf of the American state, did not correspond with the real world, i.e. there was a gap between the perceptions of the state *apparat*, and what was actually going on in the outside world. Thus, it seems that the American state *apparat*'s ongoing process of 'external' reality-testing, and its attempt to verify its perceptions conforms to the perceptual functions attributed to the 'ego.'

Finally, when the American decision-makers' and intelligence agencies' false sense of reality, which existed before October 14, 1962, was confronted with the actual external reality (i.e. the existence of the long-range missiles) the Cuban Missile crisis began. However, the proof of Soviet Missiles in Cuba did not come as a total surprise: the CIA had been aware of short-range SAM installations west of Havana since August 29, 1962 (Divine, 1988, p.18). However, the discovery of the long-range Cuban missile sites on October 14 represented a crisis because they threatened the self-preservation interests of the American state, as evidenced by Sorensen's comments,

"Soviet long-range missiles in Cuba represented a sudden, immediate and more dangerous and secretive change in the balance of power...It was a move which required a response from the United States, not for reasons of prestige or image but for reasons of national security in the broadest sense" (Sorensen, 1969, p.187).

Also, Sorensen recalls the high levels of stress experienced by decision-makers at the time of the crisis,

"I saw first-hand, during the long days and nights of the Cuban crisis, how brutally physical and mental fatigue can numb the good sense as well as the senses of normally articulate men" (Sorensen, 1964, p.76).

Therefore, the high stress levels experienced by government officials was one sign that the America's government was now placed on 'red-alert':

“As the week wore away, plans crystallized and the intensive activity of more and more people became increasingly difficult to conceal...All missile crews in the United States and abroad were placed on Maximum Alert” (Hermann, 1969a, pp.6-7).

America's heightened sense of readiness and alarm during the Cuban missile crisis, as confirmed by the high levels of stress felt by policy-makers and the imposition of a 'Maximum Alert' status for all military units, would seem to equate with what Freud describes as a state of uneasiness and heightened awareness for the individual 'ego' during an anxiety situation. Besides, the decision-makers' feelings of stress and urgency were felt because the American state was under threat: in other words, it was 'as if' they were part of a collective 'mind' whose responsibility it was to solve the problem and negotiate the state to safety. For example, Sorensen's above-mentioned comments when the missiles were first ascertained reveals a concern for the welfare of the state, not for his own particular welfare. Thus, it would seem that the high levels of stress and alertness that the decision-makers experienced, as part of the state's decision-making *apparatus*, is felt vicariously as a psychological reaction to the danger posed to the state actor as a whole²⁹.

Accordingly, in the case of the Cuban missile crisis, if the state *apparatus* is conceptualised as a collective 'ego' the following four elements of anxiety, associated with a threat to basic survival, were present: first, the state *apparatus*, i.e. collective 'ego', perceived an external threat, and this external event led it to immediately anticipate the possibility of serious conflict in the future; secondly, this threat endangered the state's self-preservation interests; thirdly, the recognition of this threat was followed by increased stress, alertness, and unease within the state *apparatus* and its military organs; and fourthly, the perception of an external threat was accompanied by a defensive reaction. Thus, the events of the Cuban missile crisis would seem to support the idea that state crises are analogous to a condition of individual 'ego' anxiety in situations where self-preservation interests are at stake. In addition, this case study has tried to show that the events which led to America's detection of the altered external situation in Cuba are comparable to the idea of 'ego' reality-testing.

In summary, if the state is thought of as a collective 'ego', 'a condition of collective anxiety signifies a particular security predicament for the state actor, which in the case of a crisis threatens its self-preservation interests. Therefore, the theory of 'ego' anxiety, it has been argued, applies to the collective behaviour of states, as well.

²⁹ Of course, as private citizens of a certain state collectivity they might also voice concern for their own welfare, however, within the public sphere their actions and comments are restricted only to defending the interests of a political entity, i.e. the state. Furthermore, in their rôle as bureaucrats and decision-makers, this paper argues, they are acting as part of a particular group 'mind'.

4.5.2. The Collective Ego: Defence Mechanisms

It will be demonstrated in this section that the state *apparat*, like the 'ego', utilises psychological mechanisms of defence³⁰ in order to protect itself from its vulnerability *vis-à-vis* external threats. The historical examples referred to in the following analysis will show how 'ego' defences, such as splitting of the 'ego', identification with the aggressor, rationalisation, denial, and repression pertain to the foreign policy behaviours of selected states. As is the case for the individual 'ego' the 'collective' state 'ego', 'it is argued, employs psychological defences in order to avoid danger and potential trauma from external agents.

The case histories that have been selected will also show that not all external threats are a matter of *life and death*. This is in keeping with 'ego' psychology and the theory of defence: as was explained earlier in this chapter, threats from external sources may endanger either the ego's self-preservation needs, or its integrity, which represents the 'ego's' pride, honour, belief system, or material needs. Likewise, with states, external threats might threaten its survival interests, as in a crisis situation, or other priorities such as its pride, values, or material interests. However, it would seem logical that the anxiety associated with threats to survival, such as in an international crisis or life-threatening situation for an individual, should be more intense for both the state collective 'ego' or individual one, and therefore, as shown above, the need to defend itself would be more urgent. In the following foreign policy examples, both threats to state survival interests, as well as threats to state integrity will be cited.

4.5.2.1. Splitting of the Collective Ego

As was explained beforehand, 'splitting of the ego' represents a defence mechanism whereby the 'ego' compartmentalises particular information which diverges with its fundamental values and beliefs, and in this manner it avoids having to confront these inconsistencies in its perception of reality. Likewise, it will be suggested that this process is evident in the collective psychology of states: for example, the following analysis proposes that American foreign policy, *vis-à-vis* human rights and democracy, illustrates the concept of 'ego' splitting at the state level-of-analysis.

³⁰ Five mechanisms of defence have been selected in this chapter. However, it must be noted that these only represent a sample of a longer list of psychoanalytic defences. For a more complete list the reader can refer to Schwartz (1974), "Defense Mechanisms of the Ego", Chapter 31-"*Psychoanalysis*" (pp.500-505) in the *Handbook of Psychiatry*, where he lists these five defence mechanisms along with seventeen others.

A major pillar of American foreign policy, at least since Jimmy Carter enunciated his foreign policy priorities in January, 1977, has been the support of human rights, and later under the Reagan administration, democratic regimes. On the one hand, the Carter administration tended to speak out against particular human rights abuses and avoided denouncing the violations of specific political systems, for example the Soviet bloc. On the other hand, although Carter's emphasis on human rights policy was upheld by the Reagan administration, the Reagan doctrine's interpretation of human rights shifted away from individual human rights abuses and, instead, focused on supporting *democratic regimes*. This shift in policy is revealed by Jeane Kirkpatrick's comments as the Reagan-appointed United States ambassador to the United Nations,

"Only democracies do a reliable job of protecting the rights of all their citizens. That is why their survival must be the first priority of those committed to the protection of human rights" (Kirkpatrick, 1981, p.44).

Therefore, during the Reagan years, the pursuit of democratic values and political structures was the main foreign policy approach concerning human rights issues (Fossedal, 1989, pp.59-60, 65, 68).

According to Fossedal's analysis, the idea of promoting democratic values at home and abroad has its roots in the Declaration of Independence which pronounces that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are essential human rights: the *ideals* of liberty and democracy are enshrined in the American belief system within its constitution. Furthermore, the mission to democratise the world, according to American standards, is rooted in the belief that "in promoting democracy, America will promote the fundamental rights of mankind" (Fossedal, 1989, p.219).

Although America's foreign policy has aspired to high-minded values, other aspects of its behaviour suggest otherwise. Besides encouraging democracy and human rights, the United States has also been associated with, and has actively supported, several governments³¹ which were notable for their human rights violations. For instance, Vogelgesang, observes that,

"Alleged U.S. complicity with repression is a cause for concern. Promoting respect for human rights often clashes with the *raison d'être* of the Central Intelligence Agency. Former C.I.A. agents claim publicly that the agency has worked or continues to work closely with security police, from South America to southern Africa" (Vogelgesang, 1980, p.20).

³¹ For instance, in his book *American Dream Global Nightmare: The Dilemmas of U.S. Human Rights Policy* (1980, p.20), Vogelgesang lists American complicity with the following governments, in the past and present (ca.1980), that were notable for their dubious human rights records: Balaguer (Dominican Republic), Batista (Cuba), Park Chung-hee (Republic of Korea), Marcos (Philippines), Shah Pahlavi (Iran), Mobutu Sese Seko (Zaire), Haile Selassie (Ethiopia), Franco (Spain), Papadopoulos (Greece), Salazar and Caetano (Portugal)

Therefore, an apparent incongruity exists between the American belief in furthering democracy and human rights, and some other realities of its foreign policy behaviour, such as its active support for dictatorships. If the state *apparatus* is thought of as a collective 'ego' then a comparison with individual 'ego' splitting, whereby the 'ego' compartmentalises conflicting information and avoids a direct confrontation to its fundamental beliefs, can be made, it is argued, in this study of American foreign policy. Rather, than challenging its fundamental belief system with some of its behaviour in the 'real' world, it would seem that the foreign-policy actions of the American state, at least during the historical period of the late 1970s and early 1980s, as documented in this case study, continued 'as if' these contradictions did not exist. Therefore, like the above-mentioned examples of 'ego-splitting' in individuals, the American state continued to assume the moral high ground concerning human rights issues, while at the same time it actively supported human rights abusers, i.e. other states. In other words analogous to psychoanalytic 'ego' splitting in individuals, this example would seem to demonstrate a similar phenomenon in the collective actions of states: by compartmentalising its contradictory beliefs and actions the American state *apparatus* would seem to have continued to implement its human rights foreign policy 'as if' there were no inconsistencies. This apparent contradiction is exemplified by Vice-President George Bush's comments during a visit to Manila, in the early 1980s, when he toasted President Marcos for his "adherence to democracy" (Fossedal, 1989, pp.67-68). In this quotation, Vice-President Bush, speaking of behalf of the American state and, presumably, voicing America's perception of its foreign policy rôle in the world at the time, pronounced America's foreign policy commitment to world democracy, while completely avoiding any potential inconsistencies that would have resulted if he had admitted that American support to Marcos' regime was definitely not a step towards achieving this goal³². In summary, in this particular instance, America's contradictory policy of simultaneously supporting human rights and several dictatorial regimes would seem to exemplify the psychological defence mechanism of 'ego' splitting at the state level-of-analysis.

³² However, when Marcos was swept from power on 24 February, 1986, by a church-backed, liberal movement headed by Corazón Aquino (Palmer, 1990, p.325) America supported the new government. By this time, according to Fossedal's analysis, it seems that some of the more glaring contradictions of America's foreign policy had been accepted in Washington, and by 1985, the United States government was actively encouraging a change of leadership and democracy in the Philippines (Fossedal, 1989, p.76). Similarly, in the same month as Marcos was deposed, Haiti's dictator, Jean-Claude Duvalier ('Baby Doc'), was forced into exile in February, 1986 (Palmer, 1990, p.186), two months after Secretary of State George Schultz refused to verify human rights progress in Haiti (Fossedal, 1989, p.71).

4.5.2.2. Identification with the Aggressor

As mentioned above, Freeman and Rancour-Lafferiere, have suggested that the Stalin's agreement with Hitler, the Nazi-Soviet pact, of August, 1939, illustrates the defence mechanism, identification with the aggressor. This defence mechanism involves the 'ego's' identification with an external aggressor: by identifying and allying itself with an external danger the 'ego' reduces its feeling of fear, vulnerability, and anxiety (Freud, A., 1966, pp.109-121; Rancour-Lafferiere, 1988, pp.51, 125-26; Freeman, 1991, p.27). Furthermore, by identifying itself with the external aggressor the "ego feels allied with him and hence less threatened by him" (Schwartz, 1974, p.502).

A summary of events leading up to the Nazi-Soviet pact will help to illustrate the idea of identification with the aggressor. In July, 1935, at the Comintern's seventh congress a programme of rearmament was endorsed to defend the Soviet state from the two powers, Nazi Germany and Japan, which posed the most important threat to its national security. Subsequently, by signing a non-aggression pact with fascist Germany and making 'strenuous efforts' to appease Berlin, Moscow reversed its previous policy, and by doing so shocked many other members of the Communist movement. Therefore, it would seem that the decision to ally with Germany was an attempt to placate. (Stern, 1990, p.78, p.84; Noguee, 1988, p.26). Furthermore, as Geoffrey Stern observes, it seems that the process of identifying with the German threat probably started well before the pact was eventually signed,

"One highly placed Soviet source alleges that Stalin was already contemplating an accord with Hitler as early as 1937" (Stern, 1990, p.84).

Consequently, as part of the Soviet alliance with Hitler's Germany, all Communists were instructed by Moscow to co-operate with authorities in countries occupied by the Nazis (Stern, 1990, p.85).

Therefore, it would seem that the Soviet *volte-face*, which led to its alliance with Germany, corresponds with the concept of identification with an external aggressor in 'ego' psychology. Three main features of Soviet behaviour would support this conclusion: first, in 1935, increasing German power was a major concern to the Soviet Union and it, evidently, felt vulnerable to potential German aggression; secondly, the unease about the German external threat was accompanied by Soviet measures to defend itself, which would seem to indicate that a degree of collective 'anxiety' existed with respect to German power; thirdly, the continuing German threat led to a radically changed policy whereby Moscow chose to ally itself with the external aggressor, even though it called into question its pre-existing Communist commitments. The fact that Moscow risked alienating its existing Communist supporters seems to confirm the high levels of 'anxiety' that it felt towards the German threat. Hence, it could be argued that, by allying itself with the threatening German menace the Soviet state managed to,

at least temporarily, allay its fears of trauma from the aggressor. However, when Germany eventually attacked the Soviet Union, in 1941, this defensive manoeuvre proved to be an abject failure.

Besides showing how a specific defence mechanism pertains to the collective actions of the Soviet state, this case study also shows a methodological difference between the collective level-of-analysis undertaken in this thesis, and the above-mentioned analysis of Stalin's individual psyche proposed by Rancour-Lafferiére and Tucker. In these other psychoanalytic investigations the analysts were interested in connecting elements of Stalin's past, such as his childhood beatings, and his psyche with political acts such as the Nazi-Soviet pact. However, in the example provided above the historical material about the actions of the Soviet state are considered 'as if' it were a group-person. Moreover, Stalin's personal psychological history is not pertinent at this level-of-analysis: it was not necessary to delve into Stalin's individual psyche in order to abstract a particular defence mechanism, i.e. identification with the aggressor, to the state level-of-analysis. Of course, in the case of the Soviet state, Louis XIV's assertion that *l'État c'est moi*, seems to also fit Stalin's leadership style,

“For over a quarter of a century, Stalin exercised true one-man rule in the Soviet Union, personally making all major decisions, including those in the realm of foreign policy” (Nogee, 1988, p.49).

Therefore, in this particular case where the state 'mind' depended on the behaviour of a single person, Rancour-Lafferiére's and Tucker's attempts to connect Stalin's personal psycho-pathology to the Soviet state's actions might be valid. Yet, in the previous case study of American foreign policy, this technique would not have been relevant: for example, an attempt to connect George Bush's personal psychological history directly to the foreign policy actions of the American state *apparatus* would not be valid because American foreign policy is arrived at by collective means³³. In other words, in a study of America's foreign policy it would be difficult to isolate any one person's contribution to any one foreign policy action from the collective process of decision-making³⁴.

³³ For example, refer to Allison's book *Essence of Decision* (1971) for an explanation of the political processes of 'pulling and hauling' within the American government in order to reach foreign policy decisions (Allison, 1971, pp.6, 260-61).

³⁴ In fact, as observed in footnote fourteen, the attempt by Freud and Bullitt to connect Woodrow Wilson's personal psychological history to particular American foreign policy decisions has been criticised on similar grounds.

4.5.2.3. Rationalisation

The defence mechanism of rationalisation is defined as a psychological process whereby the individual “explains his behavior in such a way as to assign a socially approved motive to it and conceal the unacceptable motive it actually expresses” (Morgan, 1971, p.377). In other words, the ‘ego’ finds a good excuse to justify its behaviour (Schwartz, 1974, p.501). In addition, rationalisation may be used as a justification for one or more underlying motives for an individual’s behaviour.

Similarly, it would seem that examples of rationalisation can also be found in the foreign policy statements of states. For instance, Khrushchev’s official explanation of why Soviet long-range missiles were placed in Cuba, in 1962, would seem to represent a rationalisation for other underlying motives. Khrushchev and other Soviet officials, such as Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, justified the missiles on the grounds that they were necessary to defend Cuba, and to help the Cuban state to protect itself, from attack by America (White, 1996, p.61; Kennedy, 1969, pp.86-88)³⁵. Therefore, it appears that Khrushchev, and other Soviet *apparatchiks*, preferred to take the moral high ground when explaining the event:

“To say without qualification that Khrushchev wanted to defend Cuba implies that Soviet policy was inspired by pure altruism, a noble concern for Cuba’s safety” (White, 1996, p.61).

However, behind this ‘socially’ acceptable explanation for the Cuban missile installations there would seem to have been other plausible motives for the Soviet behaviour. For example, in his analysis of the Cuban Missile Crisis, Mark White lists three other motivating factors. First, there was a strategic motivation for the emplacement of long-range missiles,

“The strategic factor was certainly important in itself. By spring 1962, the Soviet Union’s position of nuclear inferiority was common knowledge in the West...The gap between the American and Soviet nuclear arsenals...was enormous, and Khrushchev and other Soviet officials were cognisant of that reality” (White, 1996, p.61).

Moreover, the Cuban missiles would allow the Soviet Union to redress its missile deficiency with United States with a minimum capital expenditure, which in turn, would allow Khrushchev to re-allocate state resources away from the military to the civilian sector (White, 1996, pp.72, 73). Another motivation for this act of Soviet ‘brinkmanship’ was that it could be used as a bargaining chip with the United States and its Western allies, which would have been a way of producing a more compliant line on the part of America and its allies: for example, White notes that this manoeuvre could have been used as a ‘trump card’ by the

³⁵ In this case the installation of the surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles, in August, 1962 (see above), should have been sufficient to defend Cuba, if this was the main policy motivation.

Soviets to force the Western powers out of Berlin (White, 1996, pp.73-77). Finally, it would seem that the Cuban missiles were a method by which Moscow could placate China. By 1962, the Sino-Soviet rift was widening, and the Chinese Communists had harshly criticised, among other things, Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence with the West. The Chinese felt that Moscow had been 'too timid' in its efforts to support world revolution, and thus, was relinquishing the right to lead the communist bloc. Consequently, according to White's analysis the Cuban missiles could have been a way of re-asserting Moscow's power and leadership within the Communist bloc, while at the same time responding to China's allegations of Soviet timidity (White, 1996, pp.78, 79).

Thus, it would seem that Soviet officials, speaking on behalf of the Soviet *apparatus*, tried to rationalise the existence of the Soviet missiles with a more socially acceptable excuse, i.e. the defence interests of its Cuban client, so as to conceal other, less acceptable, motivations.

The Soviet explanation for its invasion of Afghanistan in December, 1979, seems to be another instance of foreign policy rationalisation. As Noguee has observed, Moscow formally justified its use of military force in Afghanistan on the grounds that the United States, Pakistan, and China were supporting an Islamic insurrection in Afghanistan. Therefore, according to the official Soviet pronouncements, Soviet intervention was intended to protect Afghanistan from imperialist aggression, which might later be used against the Soviet Union, as well. However, a possible underlying motivation for the Soviet invasion, besides the formal rationalisation given by the Soviet state, was that, in the face of an Islamic insurrection in the country, the Soviets intervened in order to sustain the pro-Socialist government in Afghanistan: in this respect the Soviet invasion had the appearance of another application of the Brezhnev Doctrine (Noguee, 1988, pp.295-96).

Therefore, it appears that the state *apparatus*, as evidenced by the policy statements of various Soviet *apparatchiks* and recent historical investigations of the Cuban missile crisis and Afghanistan invasion, may employ the 'ego' defence mechanism of rationalisation so as to offer rationale for its actions, while concealing other motives for its behaviour.

4.5.2.4. Denial

Denial is a defence mechanism where the 'ego' refuses to admit something that is obviously true, and may even resort to a distortion of reality, rather than admitting or recognising the truth (Schwartz, 1974, p.505). In this sense, the 'ego' defends itself by self-deception and/or the deception of those it interacts with. As is the case with the other defence mechanisms the 'ego' uses denial as a way of defending itself from threats to its survival or other 'ego' interests, for example pride or material interests. Likewise, this section will try to demonstrate that the state *apparatus* may use the ego defence mechanism of denial as a

defensive tactic against external threats. For example, as will be explained in the following case study, Kim Il Sung's North Korea continued to deny that it was carrying out nuclear research that could be used to produce nuclear weapons, despite the bulk of evidence which suggested otherwise.

When confronted by questions from the international community North Korea claimed that it possessed only a few fragments of plutonium produced on one occasion in the 'laboratory, ' despite other evidence from International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors: the IAEA, during its inspections of the Yongbyon reactor, in the early 1990s, had tested several samples showing that plutonium had been reprocessed at the Yongbyon nuclear reactor on at least four separate occasions. Furthermore, in 1989, North Korea had closed down the Yongbyon reactor for a hundred days with no explanation; this would have been enough time to remove fuel rods for reprocessing into plutonium, which then could be used for manufacturing nuclear weapons (*The Economist*, May 28, 1994, pp.21-22). In addition, in 1991, the United States discovered that North Korea was constructing a plutonium reprocessing facility at Yongbyon: the use of massive resources to construct this facility seemed inconsistent with any 'declared' peaceful purposes, and was seen as an indication of "the advanced state of North Korea's nuclear programme" (Lehman, 1993, p.262, 267). Furthermore, in March, 1994, the IAEA discovered evidence that another reprocessing facility was being built in the same plant. In fact, several separate reports indicated that North Korea was already in possession of nuclear weapons: the CIA, in 1994, believed that the North had one or two weapons; in February, 1990, Vladimir Kryuchkov, the former head of the KGB, told the Soviet Politburo that North Korea had constructed a nuclear device; and on July 27, 1994, a North Korean defector, who was a relative of the North Korean prime minister, reported that the North was in possession of five nuclear devices (Ahn, 1994, p.103). Therefore, despite North Korea's denial of its nuclear intentions the evidence indicates that "North Korea is...at the threshold of becoming a major nuclear power" (Ahn, 1994, p.103).

Although, North Korea had signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1985, its conduct, after signing the treaty, was increasingly at odds with this particular set of international norms: the discovery of North Korea's covert nuclear research by the IAEA violated these norms, and led to increased expressions of concern throughout the international community, in the early 1990s. As a result of mounting international pressure over its nuclear programme North Korea threatened to pull out of the treaty. However, as evidence accumulated against North Korea, in 1991, it stopped claiming that it did not have unsafeguarded nuclear facilities: this admission increased alarm throughout the international community (Lehman, 1993, p.259-262). Eventually, in 1994, America, with the backing of the United Nations, threatened to impose economic sanctions against North Korea at a time when its economy was in decline and the country was experiencing food shortages (*The Economist*, June 11, 1994, p.75). A sign that

North Korea was especially vulnerable to the external threat of sanctions, and that they created marked 'anxiety' within the North Korean state *apparatus*, was evidenced by its repeated threats of war if economic sanctions were imposed by the United Nations (*The Economist*, June 11, 1994, pp.72; Roy, 1994, p.314).

One plausible reason for North Korea's nuclear programme is that this high technology project would be a source of national pride and thereby help strengthen the existing leadership (Lehman, 1993, p.261), and a second possible motivation for this programme is that Kim Il Sung hoped to use the 'nuclear card' to guarantee the North's future self-preservation and security (Ahn, 1994, p.101). Consequently, the North Korean state's denial of its nuclear activities could serve to defend the collective 'ego' interests of pride and self-preservation for the Korean state, in two ways: firstly, it might allow North Korea extra time to proceed with its covert programme; and secondly, it might help avoid any outside threats and retaliatory measures that would likely be taken if its nuclear programme became common knowledge. In fact, North Korea did reveal that fear of external threats was a major source of concern: for example, after its unprotected nuclear facilities were revealed, North Korea emphasised that the United States represented a major threat to its security interests (Lehman, 1993, p.262). Moreover, after economic sanctions were announced as a possible policy option by America and the United Nations, North Korea showed how vulnerable it was to retaliation by declaring its intentions to go to war. Therefore, it would seem that the North Korean state's denial of 'reality' served as a 'ego' defence mechanism for the North Korean government in the face of perceived-external threats, and also as a means of protecting its underground research activities.

4.5.2.5. Repression

The psychological defence mechanism of repression is defined as the 'ego's' attempt to keep threatening or painful feelings, memories, or impulses from coming into conscious awareness. For instance, in the case of the individual 'ego' this could involve such events as "forgetting a repugnant work assignment" (Schwartz, 1974, p.501) or, the suppression of painful memories, for example, by survivors of the Holocaust. In this sense, psychological repression could be described as a case of amnesia, which the 'ego' utilises to defend itself from painful details from its past, or near-present,

"This kind of forgetting, however, is a matter of motivation more than a true memory loss, for the memories can be recovered when the fear or anxiety connected with them is reduced or eliminated" (Morgan, 1971, p.374).

Thus, the selective forgetting which characterises psychological repression is reversible.

If the state *apparatus* is thought of as a collective ‘ego’, which monitors and is constantly aware of its internal and external environments, i.e. is conscious of its environment³⁶, then, as will be shown in the following analysis, some states would also seem to defend themselves against threatening information or collective ‘historical’ memories. As this case study will try to prove, it would appear that state group-actors like individuals, have past histories which can be selectively interpreted or forgotten. Also, as Wrage has observed, it would seem that different countries, like individuals, deal with their histories in various ways,

“Since the 1930s, the histories of Japan and Germany have run in tandem. Their memories of those histories, however, are very different. When Germans remember the war, they speak of Auschwitz, but the Japanese seem to recall only Hiroshima” (Wrage, 1995, p.7).

This section will try to show how the state *apparatus*, as evidenced by its official policies and statements by government officials, might try to forget certain details of its historical past. The state chosen to highlight the idea of collective ‘repression’ will be Japan: in particular, this case illustrates how the Japanese state has dealt with certain disturbing aspects of its World War Two history.

Several events from Japan’s World War Two history are, evidently, sensitive issues for the Japanese state government. Specifically, the following three historical events would seem to be issues that the Japanese government would rather forget: the Nanjing massacre, in 1937, in which the Japanese army massacred an estimated 300, 000 Chinese civilians, according to Chinese government sources, during a forty day invasion of the area; “Unit 731” in Manchuria where Japanese medical doctors conducted medical experiments on human subjects; and the recruitment of comfort women, primarily of Korean origin and whose numbers probably exceeded 100, 000, by the Imperial Army to provide for the sexual needs of soldiers in war zones (Hicks, 1995, p.xv., xix; Katsuichi, 1993a/b, p.50-55, 59; Wrage, 1995, p.7).

Historical accounts of Japanese activities during the second world war, such as the Japanese massacre in Nanjing, have been subject to censoring by state institutions. For example, in 1965, an historical account of the war by Ienaga Saburô was censored by the Ministry of Education because it described “Japanese war crimes and atrocities” (Lie, 1993, p.22). More recently, in 1990, Honda Katsuichi, in his essay “*Eradicating the Memory of the Nanjing Massacre*” recalls how a member of the Japanese Diet (i.e. parliament), who belonged to the ruling party, stated in an interview that the Nanjing massacre never happened (Katsuichi, 1993b, p.58-61). Furthermore, Honda Katsuichi, in another essay entitled “*The Fifteen Years*’

³⁶ As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Deutsch’s ‘*Nerves of Government*’ thesis also refers to the conscious awareness of state governments to their internal and external environments.

War as a War of Invasion", offers the following account of the Japanese government's predilection towards amnesia with regards to historical events such as the Nanjing massacre,

"How is World War II viewed in Japan? The widespread understanding of the war experience is the air raids in Tokyo or the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki...There is nothing in the history textbooks that recounts what the Japanese military did...On the fortieth anniversary of the German surrender, West German President von Weizsäcker made a memorable speech about the need to remember and recognize past war responsibility and guilt. What did the Japanese prime minister do on the fortieth anniversary of the war's end? Nakasone publicly worshipped at the Yasukuni Shrine-the shrine that honors war dead, and, in particular, war criminals-an action that earlier prime ministers had avoided. This is like going to the gravesites of important Nazi leaders in Germany...However, the Japanese government's action was predictable for those of us who understand the Japanese behavioural patterns" (Katsuichi, 1993a, pp.56-57).

Katsuichi's observations about the Japanese tendency of selectively forgetting traumatic events from the past resemble Stephen Wrage's analysis in his article "*Germany and Japan Handle History Very Differently*" (1995). Wrage notes that government apologies or comments about events such as the human experiments performed by medical doctors in "Unit 731" in Manchuria and the Rape of Nanking³⁷ have been avoided by the Japanese government as if they were best forgotten, at least until recently, when Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama made "Japan's first unambiguous apology for its actions in Asia and the Pacific before and during the World war II" (Wrage, 1995, p.7). Also, George Hicks has noticed that in Japan,

"[T]here is a pervasive-though not by any means complete-taboo on discussion of the war. The appearance to outsiders is of national amnesia" (Hicks, 1995, p.231).

Another example of historical forgetfulness on the part of the Japanese state government is the case of the 'comfort women'. In the early 1990s the Japanese government faced several foreign demands for further investigation into, and a resolution of, the 'comfort women' issue, from the following foreign sources: the *Comfort Women Problem Resolution Council*, a South Korean group demanding compensation for former Korean comfort women by the Japanese government; a South Korean government report published on 31 July, 1992 entitled '*Interim Report of the Fact-Finding Investigation on Military Comfort Women under Japanese Imperialism*' which noted that this issue was hampering the achievement of a better relationship between Japan and South Korea; a North Korean report, released on 1 September, 1992, entitled '*An Indictment: The Japanese Government Must Fully Establish the Truth on the "Military Comfort Women" Question and Sincerely Apologise*'; and the

³⁷ The English translation of Honda's essay refers to the Massacre of Nanjing, whereas in Wrage's article the same incident is referred to as the Rape of Nanking.

South Korean Foreign Ministries' demands, in 1992, for further investigation and a resolution of the issue (Hicks, 1995, pp.166-167, 187-195).

Evidence of the Japanese government's complicity in the comfort women programme had been accumulating since the issue was first exposed in 1962 by a Japanese journalist. For example, George Hicks asserts that "[u]nder the strengthened National Mobilisation Regulations, Korean girls were seized in virtual slave raids" (Hicks, 1995, pp.xv., xix., xx.). Furthermore, several Japanese government documents³⁸ have shown "evidence of official involvement in the control of the comfort women". However, the Japanese government's management of allegations, for example by opposition members of the Japanese Diet regarding the government's knowledge of, and involvement in, the armies use of 'comfort women' during the Second World War, also reveals an apparent desire by Japanese government officials to forget certain aspects of the countries' past. For instance, in June, 1990, when a question was posed by an opposition member in the Japanese Diet about the government's knowledge of state documents relating to the comfort women,

"[T]he Director-General [of the Employment Security Office] and other government spokesman disclaimed any knowledge of these and the other sources...Though promising to investigate them, they were not disposed to regard them as sufficiently valid evidence" (Hicks, 1995, p.141-142).

Therefore, even though the relevant documents were readily available in the government's archives, and in fact the secret Monthly Reports by the Higher Police had been declassified by the government by the time that the above-mentioned question was posed, government officials claimed no knowledge of them: evidently, at least prior to being prompted about this evidence in the Diet, these government officials preferred that this aspect of the state's institutional memory be left unexplored, and that the matter be forgotten.

However, two years later, on 4 August, 1992, on the day before Prime Minister Miyazawa's cabinet was to be replaced by a new coalition administration, the government, under increasing political pressure from the groups listed above, issued a new report, in which,

"For the first time, deception, coercion and official involvement in the recruitment of comfort women was admitted by the Japanese. As evidence, it cited interviews with comfort women in Seoul and field studies in Okinawa, as well as previously excluded sources from the United States and the Korean Comfort Women Problem Resolution Council" (Hicks, 1995, pp.222-223).

³⁸ This evidence included a published volume of medical reports by military medical officers which included a report on the Shanghai comfort women and the comfort station regulations by the Yama #3475 unit, and the Monthly Reports of the "Former Special Higher Police" known as the 'thought police' whose job it was to suppress any 'dangerous ideas' (Hicks, 1995, pp.141-142).

Thus, considering the Japanese government's eventual admission to complicity in the comfort women programme; the later announcement by Prime Minister Murayama in July, 1994, of a fund of \$1.25 billion to be used for 'women's support centers' in South Korea (Hicks, 1995, p.230); and Prime Minister Murayama's above-mentioned apology for Japan's war crimes in Asia, it would appear that, as with individual psychological repression, defensive forgetting is reversible for states, as well.

In conclusion, these historical examples have tried to demonstrate how the Japanese state government's selective amnesia, concerning past historical events, resembles the psychological defence mechanism of repression. In effect, it would seem that the Japanese state 'mind', at least until recently, preferred to deal with particular historical material by a process that resembles selective forgetting. In addition, it would seem that this forgetting behaviour by a state government, such as Japan, as in the case of the individual 'ego', is motivated by a desire to avoid the 'anxiety' associated with particular historical events, and the associated threat to Japan's sense of national pride and honour that might accompany the public recollection of these events. Accordingly, it is 'as if' the institutions of the Japanese government resorted to amnesia so as to remove certain undesirable or disturbing historical memories from its consciousness, i.e. awareness. Moreover, not only have government officials tried to erase certain memories, but as documented above, state educational institutions have censored unflattering details of Japan's past history from school history textbooks. As with the individual, such forgetting would seem to be motivated by the need to repress the 'memory' of events from the past; in a similar way that the individual 'ego' resorts to selective amnesia, it has been argued that state *apparats* can adopt a similar behavioural pattern.

This historical case study also shows how defence mechanisms can be used in conjunction with each other³⁹. In the case of the Japanese government it seems to have utilised both psychological repression, as well as denial, in the historical examples cited above. For example, the above-mentioned member of the Japanese government, besides obliterating the memory of the Nanjing massacre from his revisionist view of history, also, simultaneously, used the denial defence mechanism, whereby 'reality' is selectively denied, and then a distorted version of a certain event is presented in place of the actual incident. In this particular case the distortion of history involved the denial, by a Japanese government official, that the Rape of Nanjing by the Imperial Army ever took place. In addition, in response to demands for further investigation into the Japanese government's involvement in the comfort women programme,

³⁹ Schwartz, for example, notes that defence mechanisms can be used by themselves or, in combination, by the individual 'ego' (Schwartz, 1974, p.500).

the Japanese government, prior to 4 August, 1992, had denied any responsibility (Hicks, 1995, pp.141-3, 148, 155) for these incidents,

“The Japanese government flatly denied any knowledge or involvement, and argued that the so-called comfort women were privately organised camp followers” (Hicks, 1995, p.vi.).

Hence, it would appear that, prior to the publication of its own investigation on 4 August, 1992, the Japanese government preferred an alternative historical reality which explained the network of comfort women as a private organisation. Therefore, also in this case, the evidence suggests that, in face of external demands, the Japanese state government resorted to a combined defensive strategy, prior to 4 August, 1992, of selective forgetting and denial, which involved a reinterpretation of the events surrounding the historical legacy of the comfort women.

4.5.2.6. Summary

This section has tried to demonstrate how the theory of defence mechanisms can be applied both theoretically and empirically to the actions and reactions of the state ‘mind’, i.e. state *apparatus*. Furthermore, the psychological defence mechanisms, illustrated above, represent ways that different states have defended themselves against perceived external threats. On the one hand, it would appear that in the Japanese case study, defence mechanisms were used to protect the state against threats to its integrity, or what Hartmann describes as ‘ego interests’: in the Japanese case it would seem that the state resorted to defensive measures in order to protect itself against threats to its collective pride and honour. On the other hand, it appears that the Soviet government’s rationalisation for its placement of missiles in Cuba was intended to defend its vital self-preservation interests during a time of crisis, and in a situation where its strategic military capabilities were inferior to America’s. In addition, the Soviet’s identification with the German aggressor appears to have been a defensive manoeuvre designed to safeguard state survival interests in face of external aggression, even though this tactic failed in the end. Therefore, this section has tried to demonstrate that the use of defence mechanisms by states are intended to defend certain collective ‘ego’ interests. Accordingly, the theoretical issue of ‘ego’ self-interest will be examined further in the next part.

4.5.3.0. Collective Ego ‘Interest’ and Power

According to the analysis in the previous section, it would seem that the state *apparatus* and individual ‘ego’ both seek to protect their fundamental interests, when faced with threats endangering their basic self-preservation or integrity, by using psychological defence

mechanisms. The following analysis will show how the idea of collective 'ego' interests relates to the above-mentioned concept of the 'cultural superego.'

Thus far, this chapter has concentrated on cases where states demonstrate their collective anxiety *vis-à-vis* threats to their interests by taking defensive measures. The purpose of this analysis was to demonstrate the idea of the state as a collective 'ego', and to draw parallels with the individual pursuit of 'ego' self-interest. Yet, as demonstrated in the last chapter, the state 'ego', like its individual counterpart, is capable of social co-operation, and furthermore, this has been the case in many international societies throughout history. Accordingly, it has been argued that the state *apparatus*, like the individual 'ego', may forego the autonomous pursuit of its own advantage i.e. egocentrism, in order to co-operate and conform with the rules and norms of a social grouping. As demonstrated in the preceding two chapters, this process of state socialisation can be described as identification, and the common set of norms, rules, values, principles, and punitive sanctions which facilitates this identification process is represented by the concept of the 'cultural superego'. In this section the idea of the 'cultural superego' will be used to describe the mutual co-operation of states to form economic regimes in the post second world war era. In addition, this analysis will show how the foreign policy behaviour of individual states may conflict with the economic norms and rules of international society, resulting in protectionism, which, it will be argued, is a form of collective state 'egoism'.

Finally, the concept of state power will be examined from a psychoanalytic perspective, and this idea of power will be compared and contrasted with Northedge's and Luard's definitions of state power. This examination of power will not consider in detail the particular instruments by which inter-state power relations have manifested themselves, i.e. economic, military etc., but will concentrate on how the idea of power relates to above-mentioned concept of the state *apparatus* as a collective 'ego'. Finally, this analysis will also show how the idea of the 'cultural superego' relates to inter-state power.

4.5.3.1. Collective Egocentrism and Economic Protectionism

In July, 1944, forty-four states, who were allies of the British and American governments, met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire to frame the future post-war economic order. As a result of these negotiations after the second world war, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) were created by the United States and its allies. As Ruggie observes, the resolution between states to form the Bretton Woods institutions represents an example of economic regimes, which are defined as,

“social institutions around which actor expectations converge in a given area of international relations...The analytical component of international regimes we take to consist of principles, norms, rules and procedures” (Ruggie, 1982, p.380).

Likewise, the Bretton Woods regimes embodied principles and norms of liberal economic co-operation which were intended to: promote the expansion of the international market, facilitate global economic interdependence, prevent the return to the economic nationalism of the 1930s, and guarantee a stable world economic order (Gilpin, 1987, pp.73, 75, 131-132; Van Dormael, 1978, pp.168-179).

During the post-war era, until the collapse of the fixed-exchange system in August, 1971, America effectively managed these regimes. However, since the late 1970s, with the relative decline of American hegemony, the United States and its primary economic partners, for example Germany, Britain, and Japan,

“resorted to makeshift arrangements to maintain the remnants of the economic regimes put into place at the end of the Second World War...The agreement on ad hoc adjustments preserved elements of the trading, monetary, and financial regimes” (Gilpin, 1987, pp.137, 351).

Ruggie suggests that these regimes have survived because their normative framework continues to reflect shared objectives between states in the area of economic and trade co-operation (Ruggie, 1982, pp.404-5).

It was suggested in the last chapter that areas of institutional and normative co-operation between states, such as international law, according to a psychoanalytic model, represented the functions of the ‘cultural superego’ at the inter-state level. Likewise, the social cohesion rôle of the ‘cultural superego’ would seem to be represented by economic regimes: the liberal economic principles, norms, rules, and procedures enshrined in the Bretton Woods regimes, as describe above, were planned to facilitate social co-operation between states in their mutual economic and trade relations, and thereby prevent the type of self-interested economic policies which characterise economic nationalism⁴⁰. Also, in a similar way that the ‘cultural superego’ constrains individual manoeuvrability and self-seeking behaviour, regimes limit “the discretion of their constituent units [i.e. states] to decide and act on issues that fall within the regime’s domain” (Ruggie, 1982, p.380). Furthermore, economic regimes would seem to represent both the conciliatory and coercive aspects of the ‘cultural superego’. On the one hand, Ruggie’s above-mentioned comments would suggest that the maintenance of economic co-

⁴⁰ Economic protectionism has been referred to by several terms. For example, Gilpin notes that the ‘labels’ for economic nationalism over the past several centuries have included: mercantilism, statism, protectionism, the German Historical School, and New Protectionism. A common theme for all these versions of economic nationalism is that “economic activities are and should be subordinate to the goal of state building and the interests of the state” (Gilpin, 1987, p.31).

operation within a regime depends on a belief that it represents shared interests and mutual benefit for all of its members: this aspect, it is argued, represents the conciliatory, or 'ego-ideal', component of the 'cultural superego'. On the other hand, it would appear that the coercive component has also been part of the maintenance of mutual economic co-operation between states by regimes. For example, during the period when the United States was the effective hegemon of the Bretton Woods system it "employed its financial power to reward friends with access to capital markets and to punish enemies through denial of access" (Gilpin, 1987, p.77). Moreover, since the 1980s, with the advent of collective management of the world's economy, the World Bank and the IMF have adopted a policy of conditionality, which involves "the imposition by lenders on borrowers of certain conditions for receipt of assistance, such as the reduction of budget deficits and currency devaluation" (Gilpin, 1987, p.313). Thus, it would appear that economic conditionality represents another form of social coercion, which enhances the leverage of an economic regime over member states in its effort to achieve compliance.

However, the attempts by international economic regimes to sustain economic collaboration, and to co-ordinate the national policies of individual states according to a common set of rules and norms, have not been altogether successful. In the post-war era, economic nationalism has reoccurred in both lesser developed and industrialised states. Economic nationalism interferes with international economic co-ordination, because,

"What can be called an "international policy" is a set of coordinated national policies, the aims and means of which are combined into a harmonious whole...The difference between that and nationalism is to be found in the fact that the latter subordinates the state of international relations to the realization of purely national objectives" (Heilperin, 1939a, p.3).

In practice, the foreign policies of economic nationalism can range from a strategy of economic self-sufficiency via the insulation of the state economy from the outside world, to policies that attempt to protect and insulate certain state industries from outside competition. In other words, economic nationalism stresses the importance of the countries' needs rather than the 'world at large' (Heilperin, 1960, pp.23-24; Heilperin, 1939b, p.15; Gilpin, 1987, p.33). For example, Tanzania attempted, in the 1970s, to become self-reliant by isolating itself from the capitalist world economy, which it regarded as hostile to its national interests. Also, in 1980, Tanzania broke off its negotiations with the IMF, temporarily, due to a conflict over conditions set out by the IMF for future lending to the country (Stallings, 1986, pp.66-67; Gilpin, 1987, p.292). In addition, many Latin American countries, after 1945, continued their pre-war policies of protecting infant industries by erecting tariff barriers. Furthermore, to avoid breaking GATT rules against selective tariffs and quotas, advanced

economies, such as the United States, have used non-tariff barriers⁴¹ to protect certain industries: for instance, voluntary export restraints (VERs) usually involve bilateral agreements between states where low-cost exporters agree to limit their exports to countries where their products are threatening domestic industry (Spero, 1990, pp.85-88, 205).

Therefore, some states, after 1945, have pursued their individual economic interest and tried to isolate themselves from the international economy, despite their membership in, and agreement with the rules and norms of, the Bretton Woods Institutions. This self-centredness on the part of some states would appear to be another example of collective 'egoism': similarly, it is argued that states which try to isolate themselves from their social commitments with other states represent 'social black holes'. Furthermore, states would seem to resort to this form of economic isolation to defend themselves from an external threat: in Tanzania's case it resorted to economic isolation because it felt threatened by its linkages with the capitalist world economy and by the IMFs use of coercive tactics in the form of conditionality, whereas, the United States and the some Latin American countries resorted to protectionism because certain industries were threatened. Likewise, Gilpin has proposed that states resort to protectionism as a defence strategy,

"In its more benign or defensive form [economic nationalism] attempts to protect the economy against untoward external economic and political forces" (Gilpin, 1987, p.33).

In other words, according to the above-mentioned observations, certain states try to isolate themselves from their prior obligations to an economic community as a means of defending their material interests from perceived threats, such as 'foreign' encroachment into their economy, and thereby pursue their own advantage.

Gilpin's comments, as well as the examples of state protectionism cited above, suggests parallels with the psychoanalytic concepts developed, thus far, in this thesis: if the state '*apparat*' is thought of as a collective 'ego' then economic protectionism appears to be an example where the state protects its material 'ego' interests from outside threats⁴². Moreover, according to the methodology outlined above, isolation from the norms of an economic regime, which represents a form of the 'cultural superego' at the inter-state level-of-analysis, are resorted to as a defensive measure. Thus, it appears that community interests, besides being a

⁴¹ Nontariff barriers are, essentially, a means by which states can indirectly resort to economic protectionism without, directly, breaking GATT rules. In effect, nontariff barriers represent a legal loophole in the system of GATT rules.

⁴² As was shown in the previous two chapters Freud described a similar behaviour pattern in individuals: 'egoism' was a way of pursuing one's own advantage and simultaneously escaping the social restrictions of community (Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 1985, p.334).

source of mutual advantage for states, can also be the source of 'anxiety', and accordingly, may be perceived as a threat to the collective 'ego' interests of certain states. These observations are consistent with the order out of chaos theory of international society. It was noted earlier that international societies throughout history have displayed a tension between social altruism, i.e. social cohesion, and collective egoism, i.e. the pursuit of collective advantage; similarly, as demonstrated in this case study, the foreign policies of states display a similar pattern of social altruism, represented by their adherence to the norms and rules of international economic regimes, which co-exists with state 'egoism', as reflected by certain states withdrawing from their prior social commitments.

Finally, this case study suggests that isolation from the normative framework of a community represents a defence mechanism in international relations. Although in the psychoanalytic literature isolation is described as a defence mechanism, strictly speaking, it is not used in the sense of isolation from the external norms and rules of society⁴³. Nevertheless, as was explained, an individual's attempt to isolate himself from the demands of society, which are perceived to be a threat to his 'advantage', i.e. individual benefit, is consistent with Freud's observations. Moreover, as was noted before, Freud's social thought demonstrates a recurrent tension between the social demands of society and individual 'ego' interests. In other words, Freud's socio-political thought, implicitly, suggests that individuals may seek to isolate themselves from the normative framework of society in order to protect and defend their individual interest and advantage. Likewise, the findings of this case study suggest that isolation from social commitments which threaten the collective 'ego' interests, material or otherwise, of a particular state actor represents a distinct defensive strategy at the inter-state level-of-analysis, as well.

4.5.3.2. Power and the Collective 'Ego'

Similarities between certain aspects of Freud's political thought and Nietzsche's 'will to power' have been described. For example, Freud's idea of power, as outlined in his essay *Why War?* (1985e, pp.350-355) involved the domination and obedience of the weak by stronger groups, such as states. In this respect Freud's notion of power overlapped with Nietzsche's description of strong individuals dominating weaker ones (Nietzsche, 1980,

⁴³ Isolation in psychoanalysis describes the isolation of a painful memory or idea from conscious awareness (Schwartz, 1974, p.502), and thus overlaps considerably with the psychological mechanism of repression, which was described earlier in this chapter.

pp.226-227). Likewise, Alfred Adler's⁴⁴ psychoanalytic theory of social superiority is an adaptation of Nietzsche's philosophy,

“The goal of mastering the environment in a superior way, which one can call the striving for perfection, consequently also characterizes the development of man...In the individual case, however, the striving for superiority takes on very different forms. Typical is, e.g., the striving *to master one's fellow man*”(Adler, 1965, p.39).

However, unlike Adler and Nietzsche, who concentrated on the coercive aspects of power and domination, Freud tried to show that coercive leadership as a sole instrument of power was insufficient. As will be recalled from chapter two, according to Freud, the naked force of a leader can be counteracted by those who are threatened by such domination: they unite and defeat the power ambitions of strong leader by what Freud called '*L'union fait la force*' (Freud, 1985e, p.351). For Freud, the development of a social contract and political stability required that leaders should also appeal to the social co-operation of those under their rule: as mentioned in earlier chapters this principle is represented by the psychoanalytic concept of the 'ego-ideal'. Accordingly, the idea of power adopted in this thesis is not restricted to the pessimistic, or 'id-ego' pole of Freud's map, like Nietzsche's and Adler's definition, but includes both the coercive and conciliatory/benevolent aspects of leadership, which are included in Freud's map of human psychology.

Although Freud included the concept of individual and state power in his political thinking he does not offer a comprehensive definition of the term. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to compare and contrast Freud's notion of power and the concept of the state collective 'ego', with the idea of state power in the international relations literature. In particular, Evan Luard's and Fred Northedge's use of the term power will be cited. Furthermore, both Luard's and Northedge's observations about power relationships would seem to overlap in certain respects with Freud's, though neither writer employs a psychoanalytic methodology in his work.

Northedge, in his book *The International Political System* (1976) defines power as,

“the general capacity of a state to make its will felt within the decision-making process of another state...Power determines how much respect will be paid to its voice when it speaks in the club. A state may with definite effect threaten forceful reprisals unless its will is heeded, and that may suffice to ensure that its will is heeded” (Northedge, 1976, p.20).

⁴⁴ Adler's social theory, for example his thesis *Superiority and Social Interest* (1965), borrows and adapts Nietzsche's ideas (see for example pp.26, 31, 209, 213, 287, 290, 295, 355, 373) to frame his theory of social superiority.

This definition of power implies that a stronger state, by making its political will 'felt' by other states is able to influence and dominate them. Furthermore, the influence and leadership of powerful states is received and acknowledged within the decision-making processes of target states. This aspect of Northedge's definition would seem to be compatible with the above-mentioned idea of the state *apparatus* as an executive 'mind', or collective 'ego', which determines the actions of the collectivity: in other words, the target state *apparatus* determines whether or not it will be influenced by an external power. Furthermore, Northedge includes the element of coercion in his definition of power, although, at the same time, he underscores the limitations of military and economic coercion as a means of domination,

"Many states have the capacity to affect another state's decisions, not because they are economically or militarily strong but because they are weak. This explains the power exerted by many small states over United States policy in the last twenty years or so. They have been able to threaten that, unless they have their way, they will collapse and open the gates to Communism" (Northedge, 1976, p.20).

Therefore, Northedge observes that small states can resist the economic and military authority, and threats of reprisals, from a powerful state such as the United States. His comments seem to illustrate the inherent weakness of coercion as an exclusive form of authority, and the need of an hegemonic power, such as the United States, to offer carrots, i.e. social incentives and enticements, to its allies besides threatening to use the stick, i.e. means of coercion.

Also, Evan Luard 's analysis of power, in his book *International Society* (1990), stresses the limitations of coercion as an instrument of power relationships,

"[T]he importance of power in determining relationships is almost never total...Relationships among West European states today, for example are not significantly affected by power factors: there is no longer behind all their dealings (as there was until relatively recently) an implicit threat that if one does not accede to the wishes of another, it might find itself constrained by the coercive power of superior force. On the other hand, between a superpower and small states in immediately adjacent areas such an implicit threat does often exist and does remain an influence" (Luard, 1990, p.85).

Furthermore, Luard notes that a stronger state might appeal to the co-operative tendencies of other states,

"If the motives of states are different, if their aim is not to win military domination over other states, but, for example to win cultural influence or goodwill or a willingly accepted political influence, relative power will be a less important factor in determining social structure. In that situation it will be cultural levels, or conciliatory policies, or the power of political ideas, which will become major influences in determining relationships among states" (Luard, 1990, p.84).

Thus, Luard implies that a more powerful state may try to influence other states by other means such as conciliation and mutual goodwill, and thereby gain their voluntary co-operation. The appeal of a strong state to conciliatory and benevolent means of leadership would seem to correlate with the 'ego-ideal' aspect of the 'cultural superego'.

Therefore, it would appear that there are distinct similarities between the definitions of power of international relations scholars, such as Northedge and Luard, and Freud's notion of power and social cohesion. Accordingly, for purposes of this thesis a psychoanalytic explanation of power might read as follows:

The term state power is defined as the capacity of a particular state *apparat*, i.e. collective 'ego', 'to command the compliance, respect, and/or submission of other states, either via coercion and/or the appeal to mutual co-operation. Furthermore, to the extent that a more powerful state is capable of achieving the respect of other states, it will be able to frame the norms, principles, values, and rules of social interaction, and will therefore function as a 'cultural superego' for those states under its sway.

This definition is consistent with observations made thus far in this thesis. For example, it was indicated earlier that a suzerain or hegemonic power could act as 'cultural superego' for a group of states within an international society. Moreover, in different international societies it was observed that combinations of coercive and conciliatory means of authority were used by hegemonic states. Furthermore, the previous references to the institution of balance of power, are compatible with the analysis of power in this chapter: it was noted that balance of power was the combined attempt by a group of states to counteract the military force, i.e. coercive power, of a single state to dominate the society. Also, it would appear that the principle of balance of power is analogous to Freud's concept *L'union fait la force*⁴⁵: both of these concepts involve the resort to coercive forms of social interaction in order to prevent the domination of a particular powerful state or individual leader.

4.5.3.2.1. A Clash of Collective 'Egos'

This section will try to demonstrate the above-mentioned definition of collective 'ego' power relations by referring to an historical situation when two states interact, but neither is able to dominate the other. The Cold War conflict between the former Soviet Union and the United States would seem to exemplify such a clash of collective 'egos'. The following analysis will try to show how each side tried to prevail over the other, in the period between 1945-1962⁴⁵,

⁴⁵ The historical period chosen corresponds to the beginning of the Cold War, at the end of World War Two, up until the Cuban Missile Crisis, in 1962.

by resorting to both the coercive and conciliatory/benevolent aspects of power, outlined above.

As the Iron Curtain descended over Europe after World War Two, the Soviets perceived that the world was divided into “two major camps: the imperialist and anti-democratic, on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist and democratic, on the other” (Zhdanov, 1988, p.87). Moreover, the Soviet Union perceived that it was the leader of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp.

Likewise, American statesman, such as George Kennan, perceived that the world was divided into two parts: Communist and non-Communist. He warned the Western allies of “the danger of Soviet expansionism” and “the congenital and deep-seated hostility of the Soviet regime” to the capitalist world, i.e. the United States and its allies (Kennan, 1954, pp.31, 63, 65, 68, 70). Consequently, Kennan advised that the threat to the West from the expansionist ambitions of Soviet power must be contained: Kennan’s strategy involved the use of weapons of mass destruction for their deterrent value. According to Kennan, deterrence was the only rational policy since the Soviet Union also possessed nuclear weapons, and therefore it would be suicidal for America to consider waging war against the Soviet threat (Kennan, 1954, pp.75-76, 81-82, 84-85).

Similarly, Khrushchev’s foreign policy recognised that nuclear warfare between the two camps, i.e. Communist and Capitalist, was futile and undesirable, and therefore, the struggle between the American and Soviet systems would continue without violent confrontation (Nogee, 1988, pp.29-31). However, Khrushchev’s policy of peaceful coexistence between the West and East did not signal an end to military competition between the two sides: the Cuban missile crisis, as noted above, represented a Soviet attempt to gain nuclear parity, or even superiority (Nogee, 1988, p.144), with America.

The power struggle between the two camps reached a peak during the Cuban crisis, but eventually each side would seem to have heeded the voice of reason, as evidenced by Khrushchev’s remarks at the peak of the crisis, when he warned Kennedy that,

“Only a madman can believe that armaments are the principal means in the life of society...If people do not show wisdom they will come to clash, like blind moles, and then reciprocal extermination will begin” (Kennedy, 1969, p.89; Allison, 1971, p.213).

Likewise, Kennedy in his reply to Khrushchev remarked that,

“We [the United States of America] are of sound mind and understand perfectly well that if we attack you, you will respond the same way. But you too will receive the same that you hurl against us” And I think that you also understand this (Kennedy, 1969, p.87).

Therefore, at the height of the Cuban missile crisis both Khrushchev and Kennedy conceded that a military confrontation would be futile for both sides, and would lead to mutual self-destruction. Thus, in the end, it would seem that the self-preservation interests of both sides took precedence and the conflict concluded in a stalemate, with neither side managing to coerce the other into submission⁴⁶.

Besides the military build-up between 1945-1962, both the American and Soviet powers attempted to prevail over the other side by appealing to conciliatory and benevolent means of leadership. For example, the United States offered financial aid under the Marshall Plan to Poland and Czechoslovakia, but since they were both Soviet satellites Moscow vetoed the deal, and subsequently, forced the two countries to cancel their membership in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Likewise, by the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Soviet Union started to solicit new clients, such as India, Cuba, and Egypt, by launching an aid programme in third world countries (Nogee, 1988, pp.150-51, 156-158). Furthermore, in support of his foreign assistance programme, Khrushchev asserted that, "[p]eaceful coexistence can and should develop into peaceful competition for the purpose of satisfying man's needs in the best possible way" (Nogee, 1988, p.30). In this respect, by extending Soviet support to countries such as Cuba, White contends that,

"Khrushchev...was simply adhering to what for both superpowers was an established rule of the Cold War, and that was to shore up any allies or potential allies" (White, 1996, p.80).

Yet, neither side was able to 'liberate' or subjugate the other by these gestures of goodwill. It would take another thirty years for this battle of 'egos' to end when one side simply disappeared!

Therefore, in summary, the power struggle between the United States and the former Soviet Union, in the period between 1945-1962, would seem to demonstrate both the coercive and conciliatory aspects of power, outlined above, which correlate, it has been argued, to the coercive and 'ego-ideal' aspects of the 'cultural superego', respectively. However, in this clash of collective 'egos', which reached a climax when both sides met 'eyeball to eyeball' during the Cuban crisis (Alsop and Bartlett, 1988, p.61), neither side was successful in dominating the other, and thereby imposing its values, norms, and principles upon the opposite camp.

⁴⁶ However, each side became more mutually compliant at the end of the crisis. For example, a compromise agreement was reached at the end the crisis: the Soviets agreed to remove their missiles in Cuba in return for the removal of American missiles in Turkey (Nogee, 1988, p.143).

4.5.4.0. The Collective State 'Ego': Two Cases of Paranoia

All of the above-mentioned case studies have examined a state actors' response to actual events, in either its own historical past, or in the outside world: accordingly, each case study has tried to show that the foreign policy behaviour of each state reflected a response to these events. In contrast to these cases, the analysis in this section will consider examples where certain aspects of a state actor's foreign policies suggest that they are the result of either the exaggeration of external events, or the creation of imaginary threats that would not seem to exist in the 'real' world. The two states chosen are Enver Hoxha's Albania and Kim Il Sung's North Korea, and it will be argued that the foreign policy behaviour of these states resembles the psychoanalytic/ psychiatric definition of paranoia⁴⁷.

As was explained earlier, Freud's comments about the Franco-Prussian War (Freud, 1966a, p.210) suggested that he thought that the psychiatric symptoms of paranoia could be detected in the behaviour of states. However, as Freud did not develop a comprehensive theory of international relations, he did not enlarge upon this idea further. Furthermore, his example of France after the Franco-Prussian war is not very well defined: it is not clear whether he refers to this state's behaviour over an extended period of time, or only after the war was completed, and, also, he does not outline in any depth the historical findings that made him reach the conclusion that the French state displayed symptoms of collective paranoia. Nevertheless, in this section Freud's clinical observations about paranoia will be correlated with the foreign policies of North Korea and Albania. The primary objective of this analysis is to try to demonstrate that the state *apparatus* as a collective 'mind' may exhibit delusional symptoms characteristic of psychiatric disorders, which might impair its relationships and perception of reality. Also, at this juncture, it should be noted that this case study does not imply that only these two states display elements of psychiatric disorders: it is quite possible that other analysts could identify similar 'symptoms' in other states, for example Stalin's Soviet Union, or possibly, as Freud suggests, France in the late nineteenth century.

4.5.4.1. A Definition of Clinical Paranoia

The psychiatric symptoms of paranoia, as cited in Freud's various papers are: delusions of persecution and jealousy, distrust of other people, and megalomania, i.e. delusions of grandeur (Freud, 1958, *Psycho-analytic Notes on an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia*, pp.63-64; Freud, 1966b, *Extracts From the Fliess Papers: Paranoia: Draft-K*,

⁴⁷ As will be demonstrated in the following analysis Freud's definition of paranoid delusional states is very similar to the accepted clinical definition of these disorders in the psychiatric manuals of diagnostic criteria. Of course, this should not be surprising considering that Freud's early medical career concentrated on both neurological and psychiatric areas of research.

pp.206-212). Delusions, as explained above, are distorted perceptions of reality created within the individual's 'mind' which warp one's perception of the outside world, and are usually associated with more serious mental disorders such as the psychoses. In addition to these symptoms, paranoia is typically characterised by the defence mechanism of projection which can be defined as follows,

“The purpose of paranoia is thus to fend off an idea that is incompatible with the ego, by projecting its substance to the external world” (Freud, *Extracts From the Fliess Papers: Paranoia*, 1966a, p.209).

In other words, the individual's ego projects the delusional content of its ideas on to objects in the outside world.

Freud's above-mentioned observations of clinical paranoia are very similar to the diagnostic criteria for paranoid disorders⁴⁸, as outlined in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III-R)*, a psychiatric manual published by the American Psychiatric Association. Although the main symptoms of psychiatric paranoia, as described in the *DSM-III-R* (1987), can be placed within Freud's main categories (i.e. jealousy, persecution, megalomania, distrust, and projection), these diagnostic criteria for paranoia, which will be defined in the following discussion, will be used as an adjunct to Freud's findings, and will be used to classify the type of paranoia exhibited in the foreign policy behaviour of Albania and North Korea.

The *DSM-III-R* (1987), unlike Freud, further sub-divides paranoid conditions into three main types: Paranoid Personality Disorders (301.00), Delusional (Paranoid) Disorder (297.10), and Paranoid Type Schizophrenia (295.3x)⁴⁹ which is a form of psychosis. In effect, these three forms of paranoia are part of a continuum: the symptoms are less serious in the personality disorder than in the delusional disorder and Paranoid Schizophrenia. In other words, as will be explained, the individual's distortion of reality is less pronounced in the personality disorder than in the other conditions. First, a person with a paranoid personality disorder displays an exaggerated tendency to interpret events as threatening and to be very suspicious about the actions and comments of others. Also, these persons are easily offended, are reluctant to trust

⁴⁸ In fact, in his paper *Psycho-Analytic Notes on an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia*, Freud refers to his psychiatric investigations into paranoia: “I see plenty of cases of paranoia ...and I learn as much about them as other psychiatrists do about their cases; but this is not enough, as a rule, to lead to any analytic conclusions”. Furthermore, in this paper, Freud acknowledges that since he did not see as many cases of advanced paranoia as those clinical psychiatrists who were attached to mental institutions his paper was confined to the analysis of a well-known autobiographical account of a paranoid schizophrenic, a case which had become famous in the psychiatric literature at that time (Freud, 1958, p.9).

⁴⁹ Each psychiatric condition in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* is referenced by a standard code.

and confide in others for fear that the information will be used against them, and are 'hypervigilant' *vis-à-vis* perceived threats in their environment. Furthermore, this disorder is characterised by an "inordinate fear of losing their independence or the power to shape events according to their own wishes". Consequently, this leads to excessive self-sufficiency "to the point of egocentricity and exaggerated self-importance," and in extreme cases might result in the disruption of the person's social relationships. In addition, these persons are often "keenly aware of power and rank," and may be envious of those holding positions of authority. Also, it should be noted that these symptoms may not all be represented in any one case of a paranoid personality (*DSM-III-R*, 1987, pp.337-38). Secondly, the Delusional (Paranoid) Disorder is separated into grandiose, jealous, and persecutory types: these labels define the principle type of delusion manifested by the person. On the one hand, in the grandiose type the person may think that they possess some great, but unrecognised talent or insight. The grandiose delusions may have a religious content: people with these delusions can become leaders of a religious cults. On the other hand, the persecutory type involves an exaggeration of external threats, and as a result the person may resort to violence against the perceived persecutor. Besides, in Delusional Disorders, the individual's capacity to function within society is more impaired than with the personality disorder, and his/her perception of reality is more distorted (*DSM-III-R*, 1987, pp.200-201). Finally, on the Schizophrenic form of paranoia the symptoms are more severe: "associated features include unfocused anxiety, anger, argumentativeness, and violence" (*DSM-III-R*, 1987, p.197), and he/she may have problems coping with independent existence in society. It is important to note that the symptoms of each of these conditions overlaps with the other syndromes, and that the differential diagnosis⁵⁰ of each of these conditions includes the other disorders.

4.5.4.2. Hoxha's Albania

The foreign policy behaviour of Enver Hoxha's Albania, from the post-war period until his death in 1985, correlates with many of the features associated with paranoia, and in particular, the *DSM-III-R*'s description of a Paranoid Personality Disorder (301.00). The following analysis will cite historical events in Albania's history which support this conclusion.

The Albanian Communist party assumed power in the spring of 1946, and its rise to power, unlike most other Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, except Yugoslavia, did not depend on the assistance of the Soviet Red Army. In the new government, Enver Hoxha assumed the posts of secretary general, prime minister, foreign minister, defence minister, and

⁵⁰ When physicians and psychiatrists make a diagnosis they try to match the person's symptoms against a list of possible diagnoses, which is referred to as the differential diagnosis.

commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The main political objectives of the regime were to build “socialism in one country” according to the Leninist-Stalinist model, and to maintain the country’s independence (Halliday, 1986, p.15; Pano, 1984, p.213, 217; Stern, 1990, p.95). The decision-making ‘mind’ of the Albanian state consisted of Hoxha and the other members of the Politburo: “the Politburo [was] the locus of power in the APL [Albanian Party of Labour] and the nation’s leading policy-making body” (Pano, 1984, p.221).

Hoxha’s regime inherited a poor and backward country that had been invaded and occupied by Greek, French, Serbian, Italian, Montenegrin, and Austro-Hungarian troops at various times in its history: no sooner would the country become independent than it would be wiped off the map again (Hibbert, 1991, p.7). Similarly, Biberaj observes that Albania’s destiny, prior to Hoxha’s rule, was one of domination and threat by its neighbours-Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia: according to Biberaj’s analysis this left a ‘psychological scar’ on the Albanian nation, which fostered a siege mentality amongst many of its leaders (Biberaj, 1990, pp.85-86).

Although Hoxha’s regime inherited a country with a troubled past and many potential enemies it appears that the need to protect the state’s absolute independence from outside influence interfered with its capacity to maintain long-standing alliances.

Also, Hoxha’s official foreign policy and propaganda techniques helped to reinforce a suspicious and xenophobic attitude towards the outside world,

“The paranoid attitude towards the outside world was further reinforced by Hoxha’s obsession with internal and external enemies and by official propaganda that maintained Albania had suffered humiliation, partition, and foreign domination because of its economic, political, and military weakness...The APL [Albanian Party of Labor] had given paramount importance to the restoration and preservation of the country’s political independence” (Biberaj, 1990, p.86)

On the one hand, Albania’s foreign policy reflected its need for friends to help it financially. Though Hoxha’s Albania strived for self-sufficiency, at the same time it required allies to finance the countries’ development: Albania extracted “a very large amount of foreign aid from successive patrons-Yugoslavia, the USSR, and finally China” (Halliday, 1986, p.12). On the other hand, as Biberaj’s comments reveal, Albania’s foreign policy was based on the principle of preventing any domination from outside powers, to the point of a paranoid obsession. As a result, despite the countries’ dependence on allies who were economically and militarily more powerful than Albania, Hoxha’s regime resisted attempts by its “would-be guardians” to influence Albanian politics according to their interests (Birch, 1977, p.291). Thus, analogous to the above-mentioned Paranoid Personality Disorder, Albania’s foreign policy was simultaneously split between the need to maintain relationships, and an intense suspicion of external power and authority: this led Hoxha’s Albania to pursue a path of self-sufficiency. As a consequence, this persistent desire to shape events according to its own

wishes left Albania, after the break-up with its third patron-China, “in the unenviable position of being Europe’s most isolated nation” (Biberaj, 1990, p.87). In effect, it seems that Albania’s perception of the external world eventually interfered with its capacity to maintain any stable social ties, which as mentioned above is one of the risks associated with a Paranoid Personality Disorder.

Albania’s view of the outside world was also characterised by a constant awareness of potential external threats. For example, the Albanian state constructed thousands of bunkers in case of attack,

“The paranoid years of Albanian Stalinism are symbolised by the 320, 000 concrete bunkers that were built across the country to “save” it from foreign invaders” (*The Economist*, May 21st, 1994, p.42).

As Geoffrey Stern observed, after a visit to the country during the 1970s, these mushroom-shaped bunkers were a continual reminder to the Albanian people of impending danger,

“[T]hroughout the country young people are helping to dig trenches and mushroom shaped pillboxes, which, though of little military value, at least serve to remind the nation of the constant need for vigilance” (Stern, 1977, p.273).

Thus, the Albanian state seems to have displayed the symptom of ‘hypervigilance’ to, perceived, external threats which is a cardinal manifestation of a Paranoid Personality Disorder.

In addition, particular details of Albania’s foreign relations are provided by Enver Hoxha’s political memoirs, and these works offer further insight into the paranoic tendencies of Hoxha’s regime. For example, members of the Albanian Politburo first visited Tito’s Yugoslavia, in June, 1946, and Hoxha made the following observations,

“We noticed nothing suspicious in what he said, apart from the <<majestic>> tone in which he [Tito] said it, the <<authoritarian>> words and the special importance he gave matters by saying, <<I said this to one>> and <<I said this to another>>” (Hoxha, 1986, p.91).

In this quotation, Hoxha, speaking on behalf of the Albanian entourage, is keenly aware of the symbols of power and is always on the outlook for suspicious, i.e. threatening, manifestations of that power. Furthermore, Hoxha’s remarks, in the summer of 1976, concerning China⁵¹, Albania’s ‘friend’ at that time, show how difficult it was for him and his regime to trust its friends for very long,

⁵¹ It is interesting to note that in these remarks about the Chinese, Hoxha refers to the Chinese state *apparatus* ‘as if’ it was a unitary mind.

“The Chinese (I am speaking of the leadership and not of the people, or the mass of the communists) are cunning and hypocritical. When they need you, they butter you up, when they do not need you, and you disagree with them, they leave you stranded” (Hoxha, 1986, p.255).

These comments presaged the collapse of Sino-Albanian relations two years later. Furthermore, as Albania’s paranoia became more generalised, Hoxha’s regime concocted enemies from both Eastern and Western blocs,

“[Hoxha’s] paranoia did not distinguish between East and West. If the United States did not try to invade Albania, he warned, then the Soviet Union would” (Shenon, 1996, p.1).

After the collapse of its relationship with China, Albania found itself totally isolated and in search of new allies. By 1980, when “going it alone” started to produce economic problems, Albania once again befriended Yugoslavia, and by the early 1980s it started to interact with other countries, such as Greece, Italy, Austria, and Turkey. This *volte-face* in Albania’s foreign policy occurred when Hoxha’s heir, Ramiz Alia, started to assert more power (Biberaj, 1990, pp.87-89). Also, Albania’s altered perception of the world, in the early 1980s, showed that its troubled past need not commit it to a life of eternal paranoia. Furthermore, this radical change of foreign policy direction after Hoxha’s political power began to wane in the 1980s, seems to indicate that Albania’s ‘reality-testing’ about the outside world, prior to 1980, was formulated under Hoxha’s guidance.

In summary, this section has tried to show that Albania’s foreign policy actions between 1945-1985 correlate with a psychoanalytic/psychiatric description of paranoia. Moreover, it would seem that the ‘paranoic’ perceptions of the world, which characterised the external orientation of Albania’s state *apparatus*, were projected to other states in Albania’s external environment, which resulted in the concoction of an endless series of external threats and enemies. While it could be argued that Albania’s history, combined with the ongoing external threats to its independent existence, prior to 1945, gave it good reason to be paranoid, and in particular to be intensely suspicious about the outside world, it would seem that Albania’s foreign policy under Hoxha took precaution and suspicion to the extreme, to a point where it shaped and distorted its perceptions of the outside world. For example, in ‘reality’, the bunkers were never needed, the outside invasions never materialised, and in fact, after 1978, when Albania broke off relations with China, the rest of the world seemed quite content to leave Albania on its own as one of the world’s most isolated nations.

4.5.4.3. Kim Il Sung’s North Korea

The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK), ruled by Kim Il Sung from 1948 until his death in July 1994, could be compared to the Old Korean dynasty of the nineteenth

century, often referred to as the “Hermit Kingdom. Kim Il Sung, like *Taewongun* who ruled the “Hermit Kingdom”, tried to seal off his state from foreign influence. Subsequently, Kim Il Sung constructed a totalitarian, secretive, and xenophobic society which was essentially inaccessible to the outside world (Foster-Carter, 1994, p.20; Perry, 1990, pp.172, 175-176).⁵²

However, besides a desire to live the life of a hermit, North Korea’s internal politics and foreign policy behaviour correlates with many of the above-mentioned features of a Delusional Paranoid Disorder, and in particular a combination of the Grandiose and Persecutory types of this syndrome. In comparison to Albania, North Korea’s foreign policy has displayed a similar urge for absolute self-sufficiency, and it has been intensely suspicious of outside interference. However, unlike Albania, North Korea’s behaviour towards the outside world has been characterised by grandiose pretensions, combined with aggressive posturing towards its various external enemies. The following analysis will highlight evidence which supports this conclusion.

North Korea emerged in 1948 under the Soviet occupation of the northern part of the Korean peninsula. Korea’s history had involved a long period of Chinese suzerainty and Japanese colonisation: “North Korean leaders derive from this history that they should do away by all means with what is called *sadaejui*, an attitude to be subservient to a great power” (Ahn, 1987, pp.16-17).

Likewise, North Korean history recounts a long saga of being bullied and victimised by its large and powerful neighbours (Perry, 1990, p.185). Nonetheless, during the 1950s, North Korea only managed to replace its old masters with a new one when it became a “fully dependent satellite” under Soviet suzerainty. At that time Kim Il Sung assumed an obedient foreign policy, and declared that “loving the Soviet Union and the socialist block is just to love Korea” (Rhee, 1986, p.29, 37, 42). Nevertheless, by the 1960s North Korea started distancing itself from the Soviet Union. This move towards self-reliance and absolute independence coincided with Kim Il Sung’s elaboration of a new ideological system called *Juche*, which was a guide to North Korea’s golden future,

“The Government of the Republic will implement with all consistency the line of independence, self-sustenance and self-defence to consolidate the political independence of the country, build up more solidly the foundations of an independent national economy capable of ensuring the complete unification, independence and prosperity of our nation, and to increase the country’s defence capabilities so as to safeguard the security of the fatherland reliably by our own force, by splendidly embodying our Party’s idea of *Juche* in all fields (Kim Il Sung, 1967, p.10).

⁵² This case study will focus on the foreign policy behaviour of North Korea from 1948 until Kim Il Sung died in 1994.

Literally, *Juche*⁵³ means “self”, “autonomy”, or “self-reliance”, however in this case the self means the “collective we”, i.e. the North Korean state (Rhee, 1986, pp.40-43; Perry, 1990, p.182). Moreover, as part of forming this homogeneous political entity, “as a single living organism, the ‘Leader’ becomes the brain, and unconditional allegiance to the ‘head’ becomes an absolute” (Kim, 1995, p.78). Consequently, under Kim Il Sung’s cult of personality he literally became the embodiment of the state (Foster-Carter, 1994, p.20). Kim Il Sung’s cult of personality assumed a religious quality, and the Korean Ministry of Truth guaranteed that the faith, ‘Kim-Il Sungism,’ lived on (Perry, 1990, p.180).

The implementation of North Korea’s self-reliance policy involved what appear to be pretensions of grandeur: for instance, Scalapino has observed that Kim Il Sung’s *Juche* ideology exalted North Korean society as superior to all others (Scalapino, 1986, p.x.). Accordingly, the government’s public pronouncements tried to live up to these grandiose illusions: for example, it announced in the early 1960s that the North Korean economy was destined to overtake Japan’s, and that its capital Pyongyang had been “a cradle of world culture since the dawn of human history” (Perry, 1990, pp.174, 176). Besides, the DPRK erected grand monuments in the capital city, Pyongyang, which apparently symbolised its great ambitions,

“Pyongyang’s architecture is ponderous and grandiose; the public buildings are huge and the monuments heroic. The purpose seemingly is to overawe, intimidate, and create a vision of power and modernity...Pyongyang purports to be an international city” (Perry, 1990, pp.176-177).

By the early 1990s Pyongyang was full of buildings and monuments which it described as the world’s largest: the world’s largest stadium with 150, 000 seats had been completed in the 1980s; the world’s tallest hotel of 105 stories was under construction; and the world’s largest granite tower which is higher than the Washington Monument was erected in Pyongyang (Perry, 1990, pp.176-177). North Korea also developed an inflated perception of its rôle in global politics: it rapidly evolved from complete dependency on the Soviet Union, in the 1950s, to a “self-assertive nation that makes the demand for equal *locus standi* to the United States, the almighty of global politics” (Rhee, 1986, p.37). Moreover, during the 1970s and early 1980s, before the collapse of Communism left North Korea totally isolated, the DPRK showed signs of emerging from its hermitage: it became part of the Non-Aligned Movement and increased its diplomatic contact with third world countries. Subsequently, a major thrust of North Korea’s foreign policy in the third world was to export Kim Il Sung’s cult of personality and *Juche* ideology (Ahn, 1987, pp.20, 25-26).

⁵³ *Juche* can also be transliterated in English to *chuch’e*. Sang-Woo Rhee in his paper “Chuch’e Ideology as North Korea’s Foreign Policy Guide” (1986) uses the latter version.

North Korea's global visions of power and prestige appear even more grandiose when one considers its economic realities: this small country of twenty million inhabitants has encountered chronic difficulties feeding itself and riots have been reported in the early 1990s as a result of food shortages; it accumulated a large foreign debt which it eventually defaulted on; it was dependent on the Soviet Union for its supply of oil and China for development aid; its economy remained technically backward; and it has suffered chronic trade imbalances (Ahn, 1987, pp.21-23; Perry, 1990, pp.175, 177-179, 186; Kim, 1995, pp.84, 87). Moreover, major building projects, such as a 105 story hotel, look more pretentious when one considers that, despite its international aspirations and contacts in the third world, in reality, North Korea remained cut-off from the outside world: for example as of April, 1989, it had international air connections with only four cities (Perry, 1990, pp.178-179). Also, despite the fact that countries like China made large contributions to the North Korean economy, the North Korean state preferred to ignore or deny these details, claiming that "We did it all ourselves" (Perry, 1990, p.186).

In addition to North Korea's grandiose pretensions, its foreign policy was characterised by an acute sensitivity to outside threats. This small and impoverished country assembled the fifth largest army in the world numbering one million troops, with an annual military expenditure consuming more than twenty percent of its annual GNP (Perry, 1990, pp.172, 186; Kim, 1995, p.87). This extensive defence expenditure would seem to be an expression of North Korea's obsession with foreign enemies,

"Pyongyang is obsessed with the "encirclement phobia," with the most serious threat being the ROK [Republic of Korea]-U.S. alliance, but with tripartite military co-operation including Japan also a matter of concern; hence, the continuing military buildup, use of subversive tactics, and general paranoia about an external menace" (Scalapino, 1986, p.xvii; Young-Koo Cha, 1986, p.374).

Moreover, Scalapino asserts that North Korea has justified its intense suspicion of outside persecutors, such as the United States and South Korea, by debasing the actions of its opponents and praising its personal view of the world,

"[V]iews of the United States, while heavily distorted, appear to be deeply and sincerely held, thereby shaping attitudes and providing justification for policies. In style, North Korean pronouncements are replete with an extraordinary quotient of invective against opponents and an equal amount of self-righteousness" (Scalapino, 1986, p.xi.).

In addition, the North Korean regime has even resorted to myth-making to justify its persecution paranoia and 'encirclement phobia',

"Ever since the Korean War ended in armistice in 1953, Pyongyang created the myth that the war was initiated by South Korea and the U.S. and that the latter was defeated by North Korea" (Ahn, 1987, p.18).

Besides, the North Korean authorities hardly mentioned the Chinese participation in the Korean War (Perry, 1990, p.186) which eventually saved the country from being extinguished. Therefore, North Korean propaganda tried to maintain the illusion that all aggression directed towards it has been externally motivated, and that the country has remained infallible, even in face of its military confrontation with the American superpower. Other historical myths propagated by the North Korean state recalled how Kim Il-Sung liberated Korea from the Japanese enemy,

“According to these books, Kim activated the “Korean People’s Revolutionary Army” in 1932 when he was 20. Kim had since fought more than 100, 000 battles against Japanese troops, winning all of them, until he liberated the Korean people from Japanese colonial rule in August, 1945” (Ik-sang Lee, 1993, p.16)”⁵⁴

North Korea’s ‘encirclement phobia’, and historical myths about its enemies, were also accompanied by violent outbursts, which are directed towards its external persecutors,

“Much can be said against the erratic ferocity of [North Korea’s spasms of violence], whether it be death squads dispatched against the presidential Blue House in Seoul, ax murders of two American soldiers committed at Panmunjom, or a fatal bomb attack on South Korean officials visiting Rangoon. The North Koreans play by their own rules, offer no apologies, provide no explanations” (Perry, 1990, p.186).

Furthermore, North Korea’s fear of external threats appeared to escalate following the collapse of the socialist bloc. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, its largest successor state, Russia, has expressed a dislike for the North Korean regime, and has befriended North Korea’s enemy, South Korea. Even China, who was North Korea’s only remaining ally from the Communist era, has been moving towards closer economic ties with South Korea (Kim, 1995, pp.86-87). Consequently, this increasing isolation would seem to have added to North Korea’s feeling of encirclement,

“The DPRK appears increasingly left behind by the economic advances of capitalist East Asia and by the demise of communism elsewhere. It is being pushed into an unhealthy isolation-unhealthy for it, unhealthy for everyone else. As one of China’s leading experts on North Korea warns: ‘Cornered dogs bite’”. (Perry, 1990, p.173).

In fact, as indicated above, North Korea threatened, in the 1990s, to strike out at its enemies, South Korea and the United States. Moreover, the North Korean leaders placed the country in a “semi-war state” after Pyongyang pulled out of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty on March 12, 1993,

⁵⁴ According to the book *North Korea: After the Collapse of Socialist Camp*, by Ik-Sang Lee, there is no historical evidence documenting Kim-Il Sung’s activities from 1930-42. However, documents from the former Soviet Defense Ministry archive in Moscow reveal that Kim was confined in a Soviet camp in Vyastk from June, 1942 to August, 1945 where he was receiving military training (Ik-Sang Lee, 1993, p.15).

“The entire north Korean populace was mobilized to attend various rallies to protect the north Korean form of socialism...No state of war actually took place, though rumour that a war may break out around March 24-26 [1993] circulated the city of Pyongyang” (Ik-sang Lee, 1993, p.33).

Reports such as this from North Korea reinforce its war mentality and would seem to underscore how desperate and secluded this state has become. In the early 1990s, North Korea found itself isolated from international society, economically bankrupt, and encircled not only by countries that it dislikes, but also, it has been argued, by its own internal delusions of grandiosity and persecution. Besides, it seems plausible that its nuclear programme could have been partly motivated by these fixed delusions: first, since its economic progress fell far behind that of South Korea and many other Asian countries (Ahn, 1994, p.97) the nuclear project could have been the last attempt to realise its grandiose ambitions by becoming a nuclear power; secondly, as Kim Il Sung’s North Korea found itself more disconnected and alienated from the outside world the nuclear programme would seem to have symbolised a heightened level of vigilance *vis-à-vis* its external environment. Therefore, as indicated earlier in this chapter, North Korea’s secretive nuclear programme may be viewed as an attempt to satisfy North Korea’s security concerns and its need for self-esteem. Nevertheless, this section has tried to demonstrate that its perceptions of self-preservation and security were influenced, at least in part, by its internal delusions of persecution, and its inflated self-esteem was driven by its delusions of grandeur. In reality it would seem that North Korea’s perception of outside threats were not commensurate with its nuclear programme or ‘encirclement phobia’: the imminent enemy invasion never materialised. In fact, in 1995, after Kim Il Sung’s death and his son Kim Jong Il assumed power, South Korea, rather than attacking North Korea, donated 150,000 tons of rice to help alleviate its food shortages, and in 1996 South Korea has suggested that it might resume food aid to the North, in conjunction with the Red Cross, in response to reports of starvation in the country (The Economist, January 27th, 1996, p.56).

To summarise, this case study has tried to demonstrate that, analogous to a Grandiose Delusional Paranoid Disorder, the North Korean state believed that it possessed an undiscovered insight, i.e. Kim Il Sung’s *Juche* ideology, which it must share with the rest of the world. Consequently, ‘Kim Il Sungism’ and the cult of personality took on a religious zeal: in this respect, North Korea’s political religiosity would seem to resemble the DSM-III-R’s above-mentioned documentation of leaders espousing grandiose religious delusions in private cults (DSM-III-R, 1987, p.200).

Furthermore, this case study has attempted to show that North Korea’s foreign policy, during the period when Kim Il Sung led the country, was characterised by an obsession with

external enemies which resembles a Persecutory Type of Paranoid Delusional Disorder. While it may be true that Kim Il Sung's North Korea had many real and potential enemies, and that the joint South Korean-American military activities made "North Korea's elite profoundly paranoid" (Kim, 1995, p.88), North Korea's fixed obsession with external threats also seems to have contributed to its 'hypervigilance' and security obsession. As Scalapino's above-mentioned comments indicate, North Korea's obsession with external aggressors and its 'encirclement phobia' took on paranoid dimensions. Also, since North Korea was engaged in several terrorist attacks against its external 'persecutors', as well as initiating the Korean War by attacking South Korea, in 1950, it gained the reputation of being unpredictable: for example, in a recent article, Roy notes that North Korea developed the reputation of being a 'crazy' state (Roy, 1994, p.308). Therefore, analogous to an individual case of Delusional Persecution (DSM-III-R, 1987, p.201), it would appear that North Korea resorted to violence against those states, for example South Korea, which were, allegedly, trying to harm it. As a result, according to the political analyses of Tae Hwan Ok and Roy, North Korea's unpredictable behaviour and violent outbursts increased the levels of suspicion and vigilance of North Korea's 'enemies', especially South Korea and America, towards it (Tae Hwan Ok, 1994, p.317; Roy, 1994, p.310).

Moreover, as documented in this case study, Kim Il Sung's North Korea maintained an elaborate system of internal myths, which were propagated by state propaganda, to justify its grandiose and persecutory system of thought: the grandiose projects which it undertook would seem to symbolise these delusions of grandeur. These myths would seem to be analogous to the elaborate psychological defences, which are employed by individuals suffering from delusional psychiatric conditions to justify their behaviour. Besides, after the dissolution of the socialist camp, North Korea's internal obsessions would seem to have limited its capacity to interact with the outside world: according to one political analyst, John Curtis Perry, North Korea's tendency towards self-obsession caused it to look inward, and this inhibited its entry into international society (Perry, 1990, p.186). Although North Korea, in the early 1990s, made steps towards opening up to the international community, this engagement "involved pauses and numerous steps backward": on the one hand, North Korea was trying to open up its economy and to conform with international norms such as the NPT, yet, on the other hand North Korea threatened to withdraw from the same agreement and go to war if economic sanctions were taken against it (Lehman, 1993, pp.258, 264-65; Kim, 1995, pp.85-86). These rapid and unpredictable shifts in North Korea's foreign policy suggests that it was experiencing difficulties dealing with its social relationship with the 'real' world. This type of fragmented and unpredictable behaviour resembles the symptoms of a more advanced Paranoid Delusional Disorder in which the person begins to have problems functioning in society. In effect, it would seem that North Korea encountered difficulties matching the 'realities' and social expectations

of international society to its “self-image of a heaven to which all Koreans might aspire, a land where a heroic, self-reliant, and successful people is ruled by the greatest genius and humanitarian in world history” (Perry, 1990, p.187).

4.5.4.4. Summary

This section has tried to demonstrate how the foreign policy behaviours of states might display symptoms of paranoia which are similar to those described for individuals. The foreign policies of Kim Il Sung’s North Korea and Enver Hoxha’s Albania, this author argues, were characterised by paranoid tendencies, and these paranoid ideas distorted each states perception of the outside world. Consequently, their insecure relations with their external environment resulted in an egocentric posture *vis-à-vis* international society: they disregarded, throughout most of their history, the social expectations of international norms and the attempts of their patrons to influence their behaviour. However, their isolation would seem to have occurred not only as a response to ‘real’ enemies, but also as a response to their internal delusions. Therefore, as is the case in individual ‘ego’ psychology, it would seem that the ability of states to react and interact with their external environment can be impaired by distortions of external ‘reality’, i.e. delusional ideas, which originate within the state ‘mind’, i.e. state *apparatus*.

This section has also tried to show how defence mechanisms can be used in psychiatric disorders. As outlined above, the use of defence mechanisms, according to psychoanalytic theory, is considered to be a common method of psychological adaptation, however, when they are employed excessively they may result in an extreme distortion reality, as in the psychoses. For example, this would seem to apply in North Korea’s case: it appears to have consistently employed the defence mechanism of denial, and as a result, it has replaced historical ‘realities’ with distorted versions of history. For example, North Korea denied that: it possessed fissile nuclear material, it invaded South Korea in 1950, it lost the Korean War, and it relied on external aid to prop up the economic failures of the regime. Furthermore, faced with economic collapse the North Korea government continued to react by denying ‘reality’,

“Since the end of the Cold War, North Korea, last of the old Stalinist republics, has become an economic basket case...After Russia and China established trade and diplomatic relations with its hated rivals in South Korea, the North’s dilemma became acute...The problem has been tackled with a typical mixture of aggression and denial” (Parry, 1996, p.19).

Moreover, according to the observations in this chapter, North Korea’s denial of ‘reality’ contrasts with the Japanese state’s use of the same defence mechanism. As explained above, the Japanese state, a state which has been an active and successful participant in international society, especially after the end of the second world war, abandoned its denial of historic

reality, for example in the recent comfort women controversy, when it started to interfere with its external relations with other states, such as South Korea. In contrast, Kim Il Sung's North Korea seemed incapable of abandoning its denial of 'reality' even though this mechanism of self-defence interfered with its attempts to function more harmoniously within international society: as indicated in this case study this social inflexibility, which resembles the social problems of individuals suffering from psychiatric disorders, did not help its attempts to become more socially engaged and to alleviate its dire economic problems.⁵⁵

4.6.0. Chapter Four Conclusion

This chapter has tried to test empirically the major concepts of 'ego' psychology within the context of inter-state relations. At the beginning of the chapter the principles of 'ego' psychology were compared and contrasted with other foreign policy models, which make the basic assumption that the state *apparatus* functions as a collective or group 'mind'. It was concluded that a psychoanalytic framework contrasted with these other models of the state 'mind' because this methodology does not concentrate on a descriptive account of the component parts of decision-making networks and feedback mechanisms within the 'nerves of government.'

In contrast, a psychoanalytic analysis of state foreign policies, according to the assumptions of ego psychology, has focused on an analysis of psychological defence mechanisms, anxiety, the perception of external threats, ego interests, and psychological disorders which involve an 'internal' distortion of external reality.

Subsequently, the idea of the collective state 'ego' was tested by referring to several empirical case studies. From these case studies the following seven conclusions can be made:

First, the state *apparatus* as a collective 'ego' reacts to perceived threats to its basic survival interests from its external environment with increased levels of unease, alertness, and by preparing to defend itself. This type of reaction corresponds with the psychoanalytic/psychological concept of 'ego' anxiety. Furthermore, these observations can be correlated with the idea of an international crisis in the international relations literature.

Secondly, in response to threats from a state's external environment the state *apparatus* may resort to psychological mechanisms of defence. Accordingly, these defensive tactics are

⁵⁵ Although the foreign policy behaviour of North Korea after Kim Il Sung's death has also been punctuated by sporadic outbursts of external aggression, there have been recent signs that North Korea may be trying to come to terms with its strained relations with the outside world. For instance, for the first time in the history of the country, North Korea's Foreign Ministry, in December 1996, expressed regret to the outside world for its actions and took full responsibility 'for committing acts of violence abroad' (Kristof, 1996, p.1, Kristof, 1997, p.1).

designed to protect the collective 'ego' interests of the state, for example, the state's pursuit of its self-preservation interests, or other interests such as its pride, honour, or material advantage.

Thirdly, states may voluntarily compromise their collective 'ego' interests, i.e. the pursuit of their own advantage and benefit, when they become part of a social compact with other states. Furthermore, institutional frameworks, such as economic regimes, can be equated with the socialisation functions of the 'cultural superego'. However, in agreement with the theoretical assumptions of the order out of chaos theory of inter-state cohesion, outlined before, states may resort to isolation, a form of collective 'egoism', to protect themselves from perceived external threats.

Fourthly, power relationships between states exhibit conciliatory/ benevolent, and/or, coercive aspects of social cohesion, which correlates with the theoretical functions of the 'cultural superego' outlined in the previous chapter.

Fifthly, the foreign policies of states can be distorted, not only by a failure to perceive certain events in the external environment, but also by internal preoccupations which resemble psychoanalytic/psychiatric delusions.

Sixthly, government officials and state bureaucrats shape the external perceptions of the state collective 'ego': they think, act, and decide on behalf of the state collective 'ego'. In effect, the "nerves of government" fulfil the functions of a collective state 'mind.'

Lastly, the collective 'ego' model is an attempt to relate the state level-of-analysis to the external environment of the state.

In a similar way that the 'ego' psychology model connects the behaviour of the individual 'mind' to the external world, the idea of the state collective 'ego' unites the state 'mind', i.e. *apparatus*, with international society.

Therefore, the empirical tests of the 'ego' psychology model at the state level-of-analysis, proposed in this chapter, would seem to confirm that the state *apparatus* functions as a collective 'ego' which facilitates the state's adaptation, reality-orientation, and interaction with its external environment.

Furthermore, it would seem that the methodology outlined in this chapter provides a distinct theoretical explanation concerning "the problem about the definition of the state in international relations" (Halliday, 1991, p.194). In politics, political sociology, and international relations there have been two main ways of thinking about the state: first, as explained above, many international relations theorists prefer to analyse the state 'as if' it were a group-actor or personified person, which is comprised of "the country as a whole and all that is within it:

territory, government, people and society” (Halliday, 1991, p.194)⁵⁶; secondly, in political sociology the state is portrayed as an *apparatus* which describes the state’s institutional machinery (Halliday, 1991, p.195; Jessop, 1990, p.45; Skocpol, 1985, p.6). According to the findings in this chapter these two definitions are not incompatible: it has been argued that the state *apparatus* functions as a collective ‘ego’ or group ‘mind’, which in turn, facilitates the reaction and interaction of the ‘whole’ state as a group-actor. Therefore, this author argues, the state *apparatus*, or collective ‘ego’, functions as an executive ‘mind’ for the state as a collective political actor.

Finally, this chapter has tried to demonstrate that the collective state ‘ego’, i.e. state *apparatus*, like its individual counterpart, aspires to be the voice of reason: in theory the ‘ego’ tries to guide and orientate the behaviour of the individual, or state actor, to the realities of its external world, so as to protect its various interests and ensure its safety, while at the same time, assisting the actor to adapt and respond to events in the outside world. Similarly, in practice many of above-mentioned case studies would seem to support the idea that the state *apparatus* fulfils the function of a rational actor: for example, in the case study of state crises, collective anxiety served to warn the state of impending danger; in the various examples of state defence mechanisms, the state *apparatus* defended its interests *vis-à-vis* perceived threats in its external environment; in the case of international economic regimes the voice of reason meant that many states have felt it is in their best interests to co-operate with a set of common rules and norms; and finally, in the power struggle between America and the former Soviet Union, which came to a clash of ‘egos’ during the Cuban missile crisis, reason prevailed to end the conflict, when both sides realised that their basic survival was at stake. On the other hand, in some of the case studies, cited above, the state *apparatus* failed to conduct its external affairs in a way which protected its interests: for example, the Soviet Union was eventually attacked by Germany; Tanzania resorted to state protectionism and its economy declined⁵⁷; and Japan was criticised by several Korean interest groups, in the comfort women case, for its way of dealing with the past. In each of these cases it would appear that the state *apparatus*’s perception of reality did not correspond with the tide of events in the ‘real’ world. Furthermore, in the case of Albania and North Korea it was suggested that internal delusions, obsessions, and paranoid personality traits have interfered with each state’s social adaptation.

Therefore, as was noted at the beginning of this chapter, according to psychoanalytic theory, ‘ego’ rationality and reality orientation are limited: there is a risk that the ego’s

⁵⁶ This definition is compatible with the international legal definition of the state, which was described in more detail in Chapter Three.

⁵⁷ Gilpin notes that Tanzania’s attempt at economic self-reliance and development is disappointing: “Tanzania’s economic performance is dismal to say the least” (Gilpin, 1987, p.293).

perception of reality will not correspond to external events. Likewise, this chapter has tried to demonstrate that the limitations of 'ego' rationality also apply to the foreign policies of individual states⁵⁸. Although, psychoanalytic theory does not deny the human mind's rational potential it also points out the imperfections and limitations of man as a rational actor. Accordingly, as E.H. Carr suggests in his book *What is History?* (1986), Freud's work represents,

“an extension of the domain of reason, an increase in man's power to understand and control himself, and therefore his environment; and it represents a revolutionary and progressive achievement...[Freud] provided tools for a deeper understanding of the roots of human behaviour and thus for its conscious modification through rational processes” (Carr, 1986, p.134).

In agreement with Carr's observations about psychoanalytic theory, this chapter would seem to confirm that a psychoanalytic analysis of the individual and collective (state) ego does not undermine the idea of human reason, but rather tries to highlight the 'practical' limitations of this hypothesis in international political theory.

⁵⁸ ther international relations scholars have demonstrated the limitations of rationality in state foreign policies. For example, Graham Allison analyses the rational actor paradigm in his book *The Essence of Decision* (1971), and Steinbruner's above-mentioned work *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision: New Dimensions of Political Analysis* (1974, pp.25-46) demonstrates the limitations of the analytic or rational actor paradigm in state decision-making. However, these critiques of rationality do not involve a psychoanalytic methodology, but rather, concentrate on how state governments arrives at particular decisions through a process of rational choice. In other words, these critiques of rationality focus on the mechanisms by which decisions are made in particular circumstances.

Chapter Five: A Fourth Image of War and Conflict

5.0.0. Introduction:

“What is interesting and worth a brief reflective pause is where Freud fits into the Waltzian schema...First, Freud would *seem*, on the standard reading, to belong in the “first-image pessimist” camp. But Waltz does not place him there; indeed, he does not locate Freud anywhere, although he cites Freud at several points in his text, twice in foot-notes deployed to *criticize* simple-minded behavioral scientists, then again for the quote that frames his own discussion of the implications of the *third* image. Here, Waltz uses Freud as an authority to back up his own claims that the third image is the only logical, explanatorily adequate way to go if we would understand “why war”...That Freud hovers in Waltz’s text but alights, or is allowed to alight, nowhere within the three images surely has something to do with the fact that Freud’s views do not mesh tidily with Waltz’s categories” (Elshtain, 1989, p.55).

Kenneth Waltz’s book “*Man, the State and War*” (1959), offers a comprehensive overview of the various theories pertaining to individual and collective, i.e. inter-state, aggression. Moreover, Waltz classifies these theoretical perspectives into three images. However, as Elshtain’s above-mentioned comments reveal, the Freudian hypotheses of individual and collective aggression do not seem to correspond with Waltz’s taxonomy.

This chapter will try to demonstrate why Freud’s ‘id-ego-superego’ model of human behaviour, and his observations about war, do not fit into Waltz’s classification system. The discussion will be arranged in three main sections:

First, an overview of Waltz’s three images will be presented. It will be recalled from the introduction to this thesis that Waltz’s first-image pessimists and optimists were discussed. In this chapter these concepts will be compared and contrasted with his other two images of inter-state conflict.

Secondly, it will be explained why Freud’s ‘id-ego-superego’ paradigm, and his ideas about inter-state violence, cannot be categorised in any one of Waltz’s three images. Moreover, this chapter suggests that Freud’s ideas on aggression require another ‘war image’ besides those proposed by Waltz. Consequently, this section advances a fourth image of inter-state violence. On the one hand, it will be concluded that Waltz’s third image corresponds to the ‘id-ego’ axis of Freud’s psychological map. War occurs because the international system is anarchical, i.e. has no central government. Consequently, there is nothing to stop states from resorting to violent means: as a result certain states will take advantage of this opportunity. On the other hand, it will be shown that Freud’s concept of the ‘cultural superego’ offers another vision of conflict. As was explained in Chapter Two, Freud’s political thought suggested that, although

common norms and laws are required for social cohesion, conflict may also arise within society as a response to social and political coercion, and the concomitant limitation of individual autonomy. Similarly, the fourth image will argue that conflict between states can result not only from the individual 'egoism', i.e. self-centredness, of certain states who wage war because there is no centralised authority to restrain them from doing so, but also, the 'revolt', against the social demands of international institutions of social cohesion, such as the hegemonic rule of a great power, which, it has been argued, corresponds to the socialisation functions of the 'cultural superego'. In addition, it will be suggested that the methodology outlined in this chapter can be used to understand the aetiology of civil wars, as well as inter-state conflict.

Finally, the fourth image of war will be illustrated via three historical examples: Hitler Germany's attempt 'to take over the Heartland' (Stern, 1995, p.41) of Europe, which eventually precipitated the second World War, exemplifies the 'id-ego' axis of this model; China's revolt against Soviet hegemony, during the late 1950s and 1960s, which led to 'sporadic' military conflict between the two countries, illustrates the idea of a demanding cultural 'superego' at the inter-state level-of-analysis; and finally the American civil war will be used to highlight the principle of a 'revolt' against the social demands of the 'cultural superego' in domestic, i.e. intra-state, politics.

Although Freud's analysis of war and conflict have been discussed in earlier chapters, this chapter places his ideas within the context of 'traditional' international relations theory, and demonstrates that his approach to *'Why War?'* offers a distinct image of inter-state conflict. Also, since Freud did not, explicitly, integrate his 'id-ego-superego' paradigm with his essays on war, this chapter tries to unite these two strands of thought into a psychoanalytic image of warfare.

5.1.0. 'Man, the State and War': Three Images of War:

Waltz's images of inter-state conflict concentrate on three main themes: individual human nature, the internal structure of states, and the 'unique' features, i.e. anarchy, of the international system which permit wars to occur frequently. Since the construction of a 'fourth image' of war depends on an understanding of Waltz's system of thought, each of these images will be explained before the 'fourth' image is described.

5.1.1.0 The First Image: Individual Human Behaviour

Wars, according to Waltz's first-image, occur because of man's psychological nature: "Wars result from selfishness, from misdirected aggressive impulses, from stupidity" (Waltz, 1959, p.16).

As was explained at the beginning of this thesis, Waltz divides the first-image analysts into pessimists and optimists. For example, St. Augustine, Niebuhr, and Spinoza are pessimists,

while Margaret Mead is described as an optimist. In addition, to these theorists, whose ideas have been discussed, Waltz's first-image pessimists also include several 'psychological' theorists. In particular, Waltz (1959, pp.44, 70, 77) cites Lasswell's book *World Politics and Personal Insecurity* (1935) and Durbin and Bowlby's work *Personal Aggressiveness and War* (1939); since the methodology used in these two books overlaps with psychoanalysis a précis of the main arguments follows below.

5.1.1.1. Durbin and Bowlby: Personal Aggressiveness and War

In his essay analysing the mechanisms of war, Durbin suggests that "war is a chronic disease of the social organism" (1939, p.29). Accordingly, the epidemic of war affects all types of group-actors:

"Possessiveness, frustration, animism are potent causes of conflict between groups-whether parties, classes or states" (Durbin, 1939, p.15).

However, in society, aggressive impulses, which Durbin-borrowing Freud's term-refers to as the *id*, are transformed into social feelings by 'moral judgements' and 'compulsion' within society; these social forces result in the formation of the 'superego' (Durbin, 1939, pp.16-18). In other words, within a group the individual's aggressive or anti-social drives are repressed via the process of socialisation. For example, Durbin observes that within the State the existence of government suppresses tendencies to commit individual acts of violence,

"Religious, economic, and political groups-churches, classes, and parties-release for the individual the aggression he dare not express for himself. And the greatest of all of these groups-at least in the modern world-is the State...The existence of government-with its apparatus of force-enormously increases the penalties for private aggression...Political and racial parties are prevented from taking the law into their own hands" (Durbin, 1939, pp.26-27).

Therefore, group violence, for example inter-state warfare, according to Durbin, represents the transformed violence of the group's individual members. As a result, aggression becomes respectable when it is expressed by the 'corporate will of the group' (Durbin, 1939, pp.27, 41). Nevertheless, Durbin concedes that groups, such as states cannot always deter aggression within the group itself, even with their monopoly over force and the instruments of punishment,

"Of course, the State does not always succeed in preventing group aggression within itself from breaking out...Civil war or group aggression within the State means the breakdown of internal sovereignty" (Durbin, 1939, footnote 1, p.27).

Thus, even though the threat of punishment within states manages to suppress most violence, the possibility of sporadic domestic violence always exists.

In order to understand the mechanisms of violence which occur between individuals, as well as groups, Durbin and Bowlby refer to the psychoanalytic defence mechanisms of displacement and projection. First, displacement refers to the transference of certain feelings, for example hatred or fear, from one object to another. Durbin feels that this mechanism of psychological defence is common in political and social affairs (Durbin, 1939, p.19). For instance, Durbin postulates that,

“Persons suddenly decide to give all their devotion to the Church or Party, and all their hatred to the ‘world’ or the Party’s enemies. Conflicts suddenly disappear and a frustrated and unhappy individual becomes a confident and happy Christian or Communist or National Socialist” (Durbin, footnote 1, 1939, pp.20).

Hence, displacement re-directs violence and tension existing within a group and expresses it externally. In other words, the leaders of a group, such as the state, appeal to the displaced enmity and destructive feelings of their members, and then re-direct these tensions externally. Secondly, the mechanism of defence, projection, involves the attribution of certain aspects of one’s own character on to others, which, according to Durbin helps to lessen anxiety by forcing “the enemy outside the gate of one’s soul”. In effect, in projection external objects become a scapegoat for one’s own internal frustrations: for example, the National Socialists in Hitler Germany grouped together to persecute the Jew, and in turn, blamed the Jews for the degradation of the country. Moreover, Durbin suggests that in the case of Hitler Germany the obsession and political persecution of the Jews assumed paranoid proportions¹ (Durbin, 1939, pp.21-23). In other cases, Durbin proposes that projection may be used as a means of justifying general feelings of ill-will towards other nations,

“If Englishmen owning a quarter of the world can feel that all ruthless imperialism is exhibited by Germany, and Germany with the most powerful army in Europe can feel herself threatened by Russia, then the selfishness of the one group and the aggressiveness of the other can be justified without being reduced. Projection is an admirable mechanism for turning the other man into the aggressor, for making hatred appear as a passion for righteousness, for purifying the hate-tormented soul. By this means all war is made into religious war-a crusade for truth and virtue” (Durbin, 1939, p.23).

Thus, according to Durbin’s argument, projection and displacement are important psychological tools for an understanding of group aggressiveness,

¹ Durbin observes that this psychoanalytic mechanism of defence may be part of a broader persecution complex, or paranoia, where the person imagines that “everyone’s hand is against him” (Durbin, 1939, p.22). However, as was noted in Chapter Four, defence mechanisms may be part of a broader psychiatric condition such as paranoia, or may be used to a lesser extent by individuals who do not demonstrate any signs of psychopathology, i.e. a clinical psychiatric disorder.

Although Durbin's analysis concentrates on the ubiquitous nature of aggression between individuals and groups, his thesis is not entirely pessimistic. For instance, he observes that the main activities of state governments is the organisation of peaceful co-operation, and the definition of laws and institutions within society which allow individuals and groups to live together harmoniously. However, at the same time, Durbin asserts that the activities of government must also be supported by the instruments of force and social coercion, which facilitate state governments to restrain rioting and group violence (Durbin, 1939, pp.45-46). Likewise, Durbin's analysis contends that violence can be controlled between states by resorting to similar means,

“In our view it is therefore not surprising that the area of the strong nation state has been predominantly the area of peace. Of course, this is not always so. Civil war has broken out more than once in the strongest modern states. But almost all wars and all the largest wars have been between nations-that is, in the realm of anarchy outside the rule of law supported by force...The application of this view to international affairs and the problem of international war is obvious...Until law is backed by force there seems to us no hope for law or peace” (Durbin, 1939, pp.46-47).

In other words, because inter-state war, like crime within states, is caused by anti-social minorities there must be a provision for force to be used against them (Durbin, 1939, pp.41, 46).

Finally, Durbin completes his analysis by balancing his pessimistic view that displaced and projected aggression are a fixed characteristic of 'human nature, ' with the more optimistic proposition that collective security between states offers the hope for prolonged peace. Accordingly, he concludes that, even though war is an endemic disease, it is not an incurable one (Durbin, 1939, p.49).

5.1.1.2. Lasswell: World Politics and Personal Insecurity

Lasswell's analysis of world politics concentrates on the symbols of group formation and identification,

“A satisfactory geography of politics would chart the symbols which men invoke to justify their pretension, and disclose the nature of the acts which each symbol is affiliated. Our usual maps show the world of “states, ” but the world of politics is richer, including acts justified in the name of churches, races, nationalities, tribes, classes and dynasties” (Lasswell, 1935, pp.30).

Lasswell refers to these symbols of collective identification as 'ego symbols': in other words, he proposes that the 'ego' identification of individual group members with the collective 'we, ' for example a nation or a class, is organised around particular political symbols. In effect, Lasswell postulates that these symbols define the identity of the 'self', whether this be an individual or group-self (Lasswell, 1935, pp.72-73).

In addition, Lasswell proposes that within the realm of world politics collective symbols of identification are readily invoked to justify regressive behaviour such as violence. Furthermore, there is a greater expectation of war as an instrument of policy in international relations (Lasswell, 1935, pp.52, 68, 74). This greater toleration for aggression, according to Lasswell, reflects a 'weak superego' development in world politics,

“The elaboration of regressive and fantastic processes in connection with the rudimentary self-symbols of world politics is favored by the weak superego formations which arise in consequence of the comparative absence of world mores. The assumption that the resort to violence is the ultimate appeal in world politics indicates the weakness of moral imperatives in this sphere of human relations. Impulses are permitted to discharge in elementary form owing to the fragmentary nature of world culture” (Lasswell, 1935, p.73).

In other words, Lasswell's 'weak superego' in world politics, implies that collectivities, such as the state, are not exposed to a system of common norms, i.e. mores, which effectively censors violence between state actors: as a result of the expectation of violence in world politics, and the relative absence of common 'mores, ' insecurities develop more readily. Furthermore, these insecurities precipitate “anxiety reactions” amongst states which are often resolved by violent means (Lasswell, 1935, pp.68, 73-74). Therefore, in summary, Lasswell implies that the frequency of war in international relations is due to the incomplete socialisation and 'superego' development of states i.e. as compared to the socialisation patterns of groups and individuals within states.

5.1.2. The Second Image: Internal Structure of States

Waltz's second image focuses on various 'internal' characteristics of states that, theoretically, account for the occurrence of war. In contrast to the first-image, the second image concentrates on the state as a whole rather than on the individual persons which constitute it,

“According to the first-image, to say that the state acts is to speak metonymically. We say that the state acts when we mean that the people in it act, just as we say that the pot boils when we mean that the water in it boils. The preceding chapters [i.e. the first-image] concentrated on the contents rather than the container; the present chapter [i.e. the second image] alters the balance of emphasis in favor of the latter” (Waltz, 1959, p.80).

In other words, Waltz's second-image explains war as due to the internal constitution of states: internal defects within states account for certain states' war-like behaviour. Moreover, second-image theorists portray certain forms of government as inherently 'bad' or 'good' (Waltz, 1959, pp.82-83). For example, Kant professed that a political system “of republican states would voluntarily agree to be governed in their dealings by a code of law drawn up by the

states themselves” (Waltz, 1959, p.84; Kant, 1983, pp.112-115). Waltz observes that Kant’s prescriptions for world peace make him one of the more ‘optimistic’ second-image analysts,

“Kant had been, in a sense, still more optimistic. Even wars, he thought, by exhausting a nation that engages in them, and threats of war, by forcing a state to grant its subjects the liberty necessary to make it more powerful would hasten the advent of republicanism and peace” (Waltz, 1959, p.105).

Another second-image theorist, Woodrow Wilson, like Kant, proposed a world confederation of states as the cure for war. In addition, Wilson also believed that history proved that the lasting co-operation of undemocratic states could not be depended upon in any international programme for peace (Wilson, 1918, pp.553-554; Wilson, 1945, p.131; Waltz, 1959, p.84).

Karl Marx, another example of a second-image analyst, believed that capitalist states cause war, and that international socialism would mean lasting peace. Together with Engels he postulated that the state was a capitalist entity and that under mature socialism the state would ‘wither away’ as it would no longer be required. Marxist analysis purported that war was the external manifestation of the class struggle between the *proletariat* and the *bourgeoisie*, and that by destroying classes and states, war would disappear (Marx, 1985, pp.80, 86, 93-94, 119-121; Waltz, 1959, pp.125-128).

In summary, the basic theme of Waltz’s second-image analysis is that: bad states lead to war, and good states mean a peaceful world. Nevertheless, as Waltz observes, the optimism of the nineteenth century liberals was tarnished by the advent of the first and second world wars, and the peaceful aspirations of world socialism were confounded when socialists in England, France and Germany voted for war credits at the beginning of the first world war (Waltz, 1959, pp.121-122, 130).

5.1.3. The Third Image: International Anarchy

Waltz’s third image of war focuses on the anarchical quality of the sovereign state system,

“With many sovereign states, with no system of law enforceable among them, with each state judging its grievances and ambitions according to the dictates of its own reason or desire-conflict, sometimes leading to war, is bound to occur” (Waltz, 1959, p.159).

Therefore, in a system which is based on anarchy, i.e. having no centralised government, such as the modern international system, no automatic harmony of interests can be presumed.

To illustrate the problem of social co-operation between humans within a social system characterised by anarchy Waltz cites Rousseau’s parable in which a group of hungry men, who can communicate in a rudimentary fashion, come together and agree to co-operate to catch a deer that they will equally divide between them. However, at the point when they are prepared to catch the deer, one man seizes a hare for himself, and as a result the deer escapes. This

allegory, according to Waltz's analysis, demonstrates that if the defector had acted rationally, i.e. reasonably, it would have been in his long-term interests to co-operate with the group because all the participants would have benefited in the end. Thus, the political implications of Rousseau's analogy are that if harmony and co-operation are to exist in anarchical situations one must not only perceive oneself to be rational, but, one must be able to assume all others are rational also (Waltz, 1959, pp.167-169; Rousseau, 1950, p.238). Furthermore, Waltz explains that Rousseau's analogy forms the basis of his theory of international relations, which Waltz summarises in the following manner,

“Rousseau's conclusion, which is at the heart of his theory of international relations, is accurately, but somewhat abstractly summarized in the following statement: That among particularities accidents occur is not accidental but necessary. And this, in turn, is simply another way of saying that in anarchy there is not automatic harmony” (Waltz, 1959, p.182).

In conclusion, Waltz observes that without an authority above states to regulate and prevent conflict wars are inevitable: in a state of anarchy “each state pursues its own interest, however defined, in ways it judges best”(Waltz, 1959, pp.182, 238). Accordingly, Waltz concludes that world government might be the only cure for world war, although he does not feel that this solution is obtainable, in practice, because the idea of a world government is utopian, i.e. inconceivable (Waltz, 1959, p.238).

5.1.4. Critique of Waltz's Three Images

A common theme which unites Waltz's three images is the distinction between theoretical pessimism and optimism. First, amongst the first-image theorists pessimism and optimism formed the basis of the theories of individual human nature. Secondly, in Waltz's second-image, optimism and pessimism are extrapolated to the state level-of-analysis to distinguish between good and bad states, i.e. violent and peaceful states. On the one hand, according to the views of Waltz's second-image theorists specific types of states, for example capitalist states for the Marxists, or undemocratic states for pundits such as Woodrow Wilson, are inherently bad. According to the analyses of these political idealists these 'bad' states tend to be more bellicose. On the other hand, these same second-image theorists are optimistic that other types of states or social groupings are fundamentally good: for Marxists a world designed according to the socialist model would be peaceful, and for Woodrow Wilson, only democratic states can be relied upon to maintain the peace. Consequently, as noted in chapter one of this thesis, these Kantian idealists-Wilson, Marx, and Kant-advocate the reconstruction of world politics according to their respective political maps. Thirdly, as the following analysis will try to demonstrate, Waltz, implicitly, extrapolates the pessimistic

views of the first-image theorists to analyse state interactions with an anarchical political system.

In the third-image Waltz implies that given the opportunity, and with no mechanism of enforcement within the international system to compel them to act differently, states may often act selfishly. In other words, as Waltz concludes, states act according to their perceived interests in a state of anarchy. Similarly, Rousseau's above-mentioned allegory, which describes the selfish-i.e. socially irrational-behaviour of one individual within a primitive social grouping, is used by Waltz to illustrate the third-image. However, in his explanation of his third image, Waltz does not emphasise that Rousseau's theory of international politics, as exemplified in the following quotation, would seem to represent a direct extension of his observations about human nature in the early phases of man's social evolution,

“But bodies politic, remaining thus in a state of nature among themselves, presently experienced the inconveniences which had obliged individuals to forsake it; for this state became even more fatal to these great bodies than it had been to the individuals of whom they are composed. Hence arose national wars, battles, murders, and reprisals” (Rousseau, 1950, p.252).

In other words, Rousseau, in his essay *“A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality,”* abstracts his theory of the state of nature from individual humans to the state ‘body politic’. For Rousseau this type of individual-collective abstraction is consistent with his other political writings: for example, as was noted in chapter two, Rousseau thought of the state as a personified human being, the state was a body politic. Although Waltz refers to Rousseau's comparison of human behaviour in an anarchical state of nature to the state level-of-analysis as supporting evidence for his third-image analysis, Waltz, as evidenced by the following remarks, would seem to distance himself from Rousseau's ‘organismic analogies’:

“Rousseau, like Spinoza, occasionally uses corporate-trust and organismic analogies...And he defines with considerable care what he means when he describes the state as a unit complete with will and purpose...In studying international politics it is convenient to think of states as the acting units...At the same time, it does violence to one's common sense to speak of the state, which is after all an abstraction and consequently inanimate, as acting. This is important for any theory of international relations, and especially for the third image” (Waltz, 1959, pp.173-176).

Nevertheless, despite Waltz's reservations about states as acting units, his third image relies on the idea of states as unitary actors, which, analogous to Rousseau's deer hunters, interact with each other within an anarchical social system. Moreover, by emphasising Rousseau's parable as evidence for his third-image, he would seem to be substantiating this image of war by referring to a theory of individual human behaviour. Therefore, it appears that Waltz's third-image cannot be completely divorced from a first-image analysis of human nature: his

third-image would seem to be based on a pessimistic view of human nature. Although he tries to justify the political realism of the third-image on the basis of international anarchy, while trying to avoid theories of human nature (Waltz, 1959, p.238), Waltz's argument would seem to be incomplete: it would appear that the third-image presumes a self-centred tendency in man and collective man, i.e. states, whereas, the anarchical quality of the international system facilitates the expression of state's selfish behaviour, for example violence. In summary, although Waltz seems to be uncomfortable with the abstraction of theories of human nature to the state actor, his third-image, this author argues, would seem to reflect a crossover between the first and third images of war.

Similarly, though Waltz classifies Durbin's assessment of state warfare in his first-image, it would seem that his analysis also overlaps with both Waltz's first and third images: in his essay, Durbin abstracts psychoanalytic methodology, i.e. a theory of human behaviour, to the state level-of-analysis, while at the same time emphasising the amoral and anarchical nature of the international system. For example, as explained above, Durbin extrapolates the psychoanalytic defence mechanisms, projection and displacement, to the state level-of-analysis to account for the selfish behaviour of bellicose states. Furthermore, he claims that the anarchical quality of inter-state relations facilitates the self-interested and violent behaviour of state actors. In addition, he contrasts the international system with domestic politics in which the state is vested with the law-making and coercive means to curb violence, if not altogether eliminating it. Likewise, Lasswell's analysis of world politics extrapolates an individual model of human nature, i.e. the 'id-ego-superego' model, to the state level-of-analysis to account for the insecurity of states. As noted above, he proposed that the lack of a common set of international mores in the anarchical milieu of world politics accounts for the development of a 'weak' state 'superego'.

Therefore, it would seem that neither Lasswell nor Durbin's analysis fits the first-image compartment in which Waltz has placed them: both of these theorists abstract an individual view of human nature, based on psychoanalytic theory, to the international system of states. Similarly, as will be shown in the next section, this observation would also seem to account for the fact that Waltz did not successfully classify Freud's in his images of war: as will be demonstrated in the following analysis Freud's observations about war also overlap with both Waltz's first and third images.

5.2.0. The Fourth Image of War: A Psychoanalytic Perspective

In keeping with the first chapter of this thesis, the previous section suggests that each of Waltz's war images presume some basic theory of human nature: each of Waltz's three images situate the behaviour of states, or the individuals who act on behalf of states,

according to their potential to act violently, along an optimistic-pessimistic continuum. Also, in the first part of this thesis, it was claimed that theories of international relations could be situated somewhere along the 'id-ego-superego' continuum. This also would seem to be the case with Waltz's manuscript *Man, the State, and War*: for example, Waltz's third-image of war and conflict, like the other realist theories of international relations cited at the beginning of this thesis, seem to correlate with the 'id-ego' axis of Freud's psychological map. In support of this conclusion, it is interesting to note that, although Waltz fails to locate Freud in his manuscript *Man, the State, and War*, he prefaces *Chapter VII: Some Implications of the Third Image*, with the following quotation from Freud's essay, *Why War?*,

“So long as there are nations and empires, each prepared callously to exterminate its rival, all alike must be equipped for war” (Freud, 1953, p.96)².

A similar quotation from *Why War?* was cited in Chapter Two: as was explained this aspect of Freud's thought on the mechanisms of war correlates with the 'id-ego' aspect of his psychological paradigm. Furthermore, as indicated previously, in his essay *Why War?*, Freud explains the tendency of states and empires to war with one another on the basis of the anarchical quality of the international system, i.e. the absence of an authority above states to restrain violent acts. Accordingly, he concludes that an institution such as the League of Nations, vested with both a monopoly of force and the voluntary co-operation of member states, would be necessary to socialise states.

In addition, although Waltz does not utilise psychoanalytic precepts to construct his third image, both Freud and Waltz come to similar conclusions about war and its possible remedies: the 'egoistic' behaviour of states could only be curbed by world government (Waltz), or a supra-national authority and collective security arrangement, i.e. a strengthened version of The League of Nations (Freud). Nevertheless, a major difference between Freud and Waltz's analysis of inter-state warfare was that Freud, unlike Waltz, did not think that a supra-national institution for collective security was an 'utopian' idea: although Freud advocated a collective security system between states with enforcement capacities, rather than a world government, he proposed that this was a practical solution to inter-state warfare. This optimistic strand in Freud's thinking, which comprises the 'ego-superego' component of his psychological map, presents another problem for locating Freud in Waltz's three images. Not only do Freud's views overlap with the first and third image, but his view of human nature cannot be easily situated in

² Waltz refers to the edition of Freud's essays-*Why War?*, *Civilization and its Discontents*, and *Thoughts for the Times on War and Death*-that were edited by John Rickman. Therefore, in this section when Freud's quotations are extracted from *Man, the State and War*, they refer to this particular translation of Freud's work. However, in all other cases in which these three works by Freud are cited in this thesis, the reference is to the translation by James Strachey.

either of Waltz's pessimistic or optimistic categories: in other words, the 'id-ego-superego' model contains characteristics of both first-image optimists and pessimists.

As Elshtain's quotation at the beginning of this chapter indicates, Waltz seems to suggest that Freud was also, besides being a third-image thinker, a first-image pessimist. Accordingly, in the first-image chapters of his book *Man, the State and War*, Waltz cites the following two quotations from Freud's manuscript *Why War?*, in two footnotes,

[Those who would have peace await changes in men]³ "conjure up an ugly picture of mills which grind so slowly that, before the flour is ready, men are dead of hunger" (Freud, 1953, p.95; Waltz, 1959, p.71).

"There is but one sure way of ending war and that is the establishment, by common consent, of a central control which shall have the last word in every conflict of interests. For this, two things are needed: first, the creation of a supreme court of judicature; secondly, its investment with adequate executive force" (Freud, 1953, p.88; Waltz, 1959, p.71).

However, rather than situating Freud in the pessimistic camp, as Waltz seems to suggest, these two quotations exemplify the dualism, i.e. the optimistic and pessimistic aspects, of Freud's political and social thought. On the one hand, in the first quotation, and the preceding passages of *Why War?* that Waltz did not cite, Freud indicates that it is futile to expect that the aggressive impulses of man, or collective man, will disappear spontaneously, and that all men will agree to become rational and peace-loving. Although Freud indicates that a community of men who all renounced their aggressive impulses to the dictates of reason would be an ideal situation, he did not think that this was likely: therefore, man's spontaneous renunciation of violence was "in all probability...a Utopian expectation" (Freud, 1985e, *Why War?*, p.360). On the other hand, as the second quotation implies, Freud thought that political arrangements should be created at the supra-national level to deter war, and as demonstrated above, he did not feel that a system of collective security at the inter-state level was an utopian expectation. Furthermore, as was explained earlier, these ideas are consistent with the other aspects of his political and social thought: to recapitulate, he describes the evolution of a social compact as man evolved from a primitive state of nature to a condition of civilisation in which men, or at least most men, renounce their anti-social tendencies in order to develop a social contract. Similarly, Freud proposed that "whatever fosters the growth of civilization works at the same time against war" at the inter-state level (Freud, 1985e, p.362).

3 This bracketed section represents Waltz's paraphrasing of Freud's preceding ideas.

Therefore, considering that Waltz does not successfully, situate Freud within his tripartite system, that Freud's thoughts on war overlap with both Waltz's first and third images, and considering that both optimistic and pessimistic strands of thought are present in the 'id-ego-superego' model, a fourth image of war and conflict will be proposed in the following section.

5.2.1. The Fourth Image Defined

This section will define the major propositions of the fourth-psychoanalytic-image of war and conflict. The fourth image will be constructed by the following six propositions, each of which are based on the 'id-ego-superego' topography and other related psychoanalytic/psychological assumptions, such as the theory of the defence mechanisms.

First, the existence of aggressive 'id' impulses in Freud's system does not mean that aggression is a perpetual phenomenon as in an Hobbesian state of nature. According to the 'id-ego-superego' model the 'superego' and the external social forces which shape it, i.e. the 'cultural superego', are able to control aggressive behaviour via the process of socialisation. Similar assumptions are made in the above-mentioned work of political theorists, such as Lasswell and Durbin. For example, Lasswell assumes that aggressive impulses can be controlled by a system of enforced mores, i.e. social values and norms, between groups and individuals. Likewise, Durbin observes that in the sphere of domestic politics the centrally enforced laws and norms of the state are able to control violence, although this is not always the case: inter-state warfare and domestic violence, according to Durbin, are sporadic occurrences and are due to anti-social minorities.

Furthermore, aggressive impulses need not always be expressed in physical terms, either at the collective or individual level-of-analysis. For example, as will be shown later in this chapter, the aggressive sentiments between China and the former Soviet Union started with a 'war of words' before they escalated into armed conflict. Therefore, the expression of aggression by the individual, or, state may assume more subtle forms than physical violence, even though these other manifestations of aggression may eventually lead to a physical dispute. For instance, the 'war of words' between China and the Soviet Union, as will be shown, was a preamble to armed border conflicts.

Secondly, the fourth image combines the optimistic and pessimistic aspects of the first-image analysis of human nature with the external environmental influences upon state behaviour, which Waltz alludes to in his third-image: the ego psychology model and the idea of the state *apparatus* as a collective ego, combines a theory of human psychology with the external environmental influence on individual behaviour. However, as will be explained in the next, i.e. third, proposition, the fourth image does not accept the underlying assumption of Waltz's third image that international anarchy is the principal source of inter-state violence.

Thirdly, as was argued in the preceding section (i.e.5.2.0), the combination of Waltz's first and third images is also, implicitly, evident in Waltz's own third-image analysis. However, in contrast to the theoretical assumptions in Waltz's third image, although international society does not have a centralised government vested with a monopoly of force, some of the mechanisms of order in international society do possess coercive means of enforcement. Furthermore, as was argued earlier, these institutions of social cohesion in international society curtail the collective 'egoism' of states, i.e. the self-centredness and independent manoeuvrability of individual state actors to pursue their own-perceived-advantage and self-interest: moreover, in some cases, such as in the former Soviet Communist system the coercive means of 'social' enforcement employed by Moscow were quite repressive. Therefore, the authority of an hegemonic state within a regional system, such as the Soviet Union in the former Communist bloc, may rely on the enforcement of its normative system by resort to forceful, i.e. coercive, means⁴. Accordingly, the fourth image, unlike Waltz's third image, does not accept that the existence of international anarchy, i.e. the lack of a centralised government, implies that other decentralised, albeit regional, modes of enforcement have not existed in international society. In the case of the Soviet bloc, for example, the enforcement techniques employed by Moscow with its satellites would seem to parallel the monopoly of force available to centralised state governments within domestic society. Furthermore, as will be explained below, the rule of a hegemonic power, like the Soviet Union, within a regional alliance system may be a source of inter-state conflict and rivalry.

Fourthly, although the fourth image does not portray international anarchy as the only source of inter-state warfare, it does accept that the lack of deterrence in international society can facilitate conflict. Furthermore, as was explained above, Freud also accepted that this was a major source of war amongst states. Therefore, like Waltz's third image, the fourth image proposes that the inability of other states and/or international institutions to stop states from acting aggressively has been a major basis for war in world politics: moreover, as stated above, this reasoning corresponds to the 'id-ego' axis in psychoanalysis. Also, it will be argued later in this chapter that Hitler Germany's expansion policy in Europe, which led to the second world war, is an example of this mechanism of inter-state conflict.

⁴ For example, as was explained in Chapter Three, Hedley Bull in his book *The Anarchical Society* has shown that rule by a hegemonic power may employ force as well as co-operative means to maintain social conformity (Bull, 1977, pp.215-219;227-229). Furthermore, as explained in both Chapters Three and Four, the former Soviet Union employed carrots, i.e. social incentives and enticements, such as subsidised oil and military/development aid to gain the support of its satellites, as well as coercive means. In fact, as alluded to in Chapter Four, coercion was the *raison d'être* of the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty. Moscow also employed similar coercive means of social enforcement during Khrushchev's period of leadership: for instance, when Soviet tanks crushed the 'counter-revolution' in Hungary on 4 November, 1956 (Stern, 1990, p.170).

Moreover, according to this proposition, states are able to displace and project their aggression outside of their borders because there is nothing to stop them, or as Lasswell explains, because the system of international norms in world politics fails to prevent certain states from pursuing anti-social behaviour⁵.

Furthermore, as was explained in the last chapter, defence mechanisms, such as displacement and projection describe psychological devices whereby individual and group-actors look after their own self-interest. In effect, this component of the fourth image is an extension of the propositions made in Waltz's third image: in other words, Waltz's third-image is combined with psychoanalytic propositions, which Waltz would locate in his first image.

Fifthly, the fourth image proposes that another reason for inter-state conflict is the restriction of individual state autonomy within international society. It was indicated previously that throughout history, and in international societies with a centralised authority, i.e. a hegemonic or suzerain power, sporadic revolts against that authority have occurred. Furthermore, it was suggested that the authority of the hegemonic state in these centralised international societies was underpinned by the coercive, and/or, conciliatory/benevolent aspects of the 'cultural superego'.

Likewise, the fourth image of war contends that the authority of international institutions, such as management of a group of states by a hegemon, may lead to a revolt by one of the member states. Although Freud did not recognise this as a source of international conflict, and since he did not elaborate an integrated theory of international relations, he did propose that this same mechanism was a possible source of civil disobedience and war. For example, in Chapter Two it was shown that in the final phase in the evolution of a social contract Freud, like Rousseau, explained how subjects may react to excessively oppressive, i.e. coercive, forms of authority and/or perceived injustice, i.e. inequality, in a society by revolting against their masters. Besides, in *his essay Civilization and its Discontents* Freud observes that,

"In the severity of [the superego's] commands and prohibitions it troubles itself too little about the happiness of the ego, in that it takes insufficient account of the resistances against obeying them...Exactly the same objections can be made against the ethical demands of the cultural super-ego. It, too, does not trouble itself enough about the facts of the mental constitution of human beings. It issues a command and does not ask whether it is possible for people to obey it. On the contrary, it assumes that a man's ego is psychologically capable of anything that is required of it, that the ego has unlimited mastery over his id. This is a mistake; and even in what are known as normal people the id cannot be controlled beyond certain limits. If more is demanded of a man, a revolt will be produced in him or a neurosis, or he will be made unhappy" (Freud, 1985a, p.337).

⁵ Also, as indicated in Chapter Two, Freud, like Durbin and Bowlby, believed that states often displaced domestic political tensions outside of their borders, which manifested itself as state violence.

In other words, Freud believed that the social demands for conformity and socialisation could be perceived as excessive, unjust, or unacceptable by members of society: consequently, as the above-mentioned quotation indicates, and as Freud's allusion to 'id' impulses suggests, dissatisfied members of society may rebel and may even become aggressive.

Although Freud did not extrapolate the idea of an oppressive 'superego' to the state level-of-analysis, other writers, for example Durbin, albeit only in one short footnote, alludes to a similar mechanism in the realm of international relations,

"The projection of the super-ego is a reason for hating and attacking any form of government. If, therefore, the League of Nations or any collective security system became stronger there would arise, if our theory be true, aggressive revolutionary minorities within the collective system. This is an important point made by Dr. Glover"⁶ (Durbin and Bowlby, footnote 1, 1939, p.24).

Thus, it would seem that Durbin believed that a revolt against the demands and expectations of society was, hypothetically, possible in the realm of international relations as well. Moreover, the fourth image asserts that this mechanism of conflict between states is not only hypothetical, but can be identified in the 'real' world of inter-state relations: for instance, the Sino-Soviet rift, it will be argued, illustrates this mechanism of conflict between states. As well, this case study will try to show that the Sino-Soviet rift is an example of Freud's above-mentioned idea of a revolt against the social demands of the 'cultural superego': in other words, the state, like the individual, may react violently against the external socialisation demands of a particular group, which have hereto been referred to as the 'cultural superego', by anti-social means such as violence. This type of 'collective egoism', whereby an actor tries to isolate itself from social demands and commitments, either by violent means or by contravening a certain societies' laws or norms, is referred to in this thesis as a social black hole.

Sixthly, the idea of a demanding 'cultural superego' will be used to describe the aetiology of civil wars. As Durbin's above-mentioned remarks suggests, the social contract of a state government with domestic society, and the concomitant responsibilities of the centralised state *apparatus* to enforce and legislate the norms, laws, and punitive sanctions of social cohesion,

⁶ Durbin refers to another political-psychoanalytic study, entitled *The Dangers of Being Human* (1936), by Dr. Glover, a physician and psychoanalyst. In this book, Dr Glover discusses the limitations of collective security systems, especially the League of Nations, amongst states. Also, Glover, in an analogy between the psychology of individuals and states, compares the League of Nations to the individual 'conscience': "The League of Nations may be a practical scheme to meet realistic problems in a common-sense way. Or again it may not...The most interesting fact about the League is that it is a projection of man's own mental structure. The idea of an ethical super-state which curbs the bad impulses of naughty ego-centric nations is an exact parallel to the conscience activities of the individual" (Glover, 1936, p.104).

may become a point of contention for certain domestic groups. Accordingly, those groups which challenge a specific state's authority, it will be argued, represent social black holes within domestic society. Finally, the American Civil War will be used to illustrate this principle.

5.3.0. The Fourth Image: Historical Examples

This final section will illustrate the above-mentioned theoretical propositions of the fourth-psychoanalytic-image of war and conflict with three historical examples. First, it will be argued that Hitler Germany's policy of military expansionism represents the 'id-ego' axis of this image; secondly, the Sino-Soviet conflict will be used to describe the social constraints of the 'cultural superego' as a source of tension at the inter-state level-of-analysis; and thirdly, the American Civil War will be used to illustrate the concept of a demanding 'cultural superego' within domestic society, i.e. at the intra-state level-of-analysis.

5.3.1. Germany's Expansion into the European 'Heartland'

This case study will demonstrate how Hitler's policy of military expansionism, combined with the failure of the world to deter Germany's aggression, fits the 'id-ego' axis of the fourth image of war.

Hitler Germany's foreign policy was based on the principle of *Lebensraum* or "living space": the Führer argued that Germany required more territory to provide for the needs of its burgeoning population (Herzstein, 1974, p.121). Likewise, Adolf Hitler, in his book *Mein Kampf*, claimed that by increasing the size of a state's living space a state would enhance its external security by providing for more natural protection from outside enemies. In support of this idea, Hitler contended that military victories over small 'nations' confined to small territories have 'always' been more easily accomplished than in 'States' which possess larger territories (Hitler, 1939, pp.177). Therefore, according to Hitler's analysis, self-preservation is a matter of state size, and in this respect many European states are too small,

"In the greatness of the State territory, therefore, lies a reason for the easier preservation of a nation's liberty and independence, whereas, in the reverse case, the smallness of such a formation simply invites seizure...Many European States today are comparable to pyramids standing on their points. Their European territory is ridiculously small compared with their burden of colonies, foreign trade, etc.". (Hitler, 1939, pp.177, 180).

Accordingly, Hitler envisaged that the German state was an 'instrument of power' for the execution of his foreign policy goals of domination via the overt use of force: the Third Reich glorified the idea of the '*Machtstaat*', the '*Power State*' (Bullock, 1952, pp.285, 366, 371).

In order to realise Germany's territorial aspirations Hitler proposed to subjugate large sections of Europe, including Soviet Russia⁷. Furthermore, the German Reich would be prepared to use the 'sword', i.e. military conquest, to accomplish this feat,

"If one wanted land and soil in Europe, then by and large this could only have been done at Russia's expense, and then the new Reich would have to start marching along the knights of the orders⁸ of former times to give with the help of the German sword, the soil to plow and the daily bread to the nation" (Hitler, 1939, pp.182-183).

Consequently, Germany, shortly after Hitler assumed power in 1933, started to re-arm itself, which resulted in increasing apprehension amongst other countries across Europe: the German rearmament reflected a direct repudiation of the disarmament provisions and military clauses of the Versailles Treaty. In response to these foreign concerns, Germany cited the failure of other countries disarmament programmes as a rationale for its rearmament programme (Carr, 1990, pp.189-190, 216-219; Carr, 1983, p.186; Morgenthau, 1985, p.79).

Although Hitler affirmed his pacific intentions, and despite Germany's suspension of its political slurs against the Austrian Government, in July, 1934, the aggressive phase of Germany's search for *Lebensraum* began in 1938. On March 12, 1938, German troops occupied Vienna, and Austria was absorbed in the *Anschluss*, and in September, 1938 the Sudeten territories came under the control of the Reich. Subsequently, despite Hitler's reassurances, on September 26, 1938, to Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, that there would be no more German territorial acquisitions, German troops, in March, 1939, occupied the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, while Slovakia was left with a 'nominal independence', and on March 21, 1939, the Lithuanian port of Memel was occupied. Shortly thereafter, Ribbentrop, the German foreign minister, proposed terms which Germany planned to impose on the Polish Government. Finally, after conclusion of the Soviet-Nazi pact on August 23, 1939 western Poland was seized by the Reich: shortly thereafter, the German occupation of Poland led to a declaration of war by Great Britain, and later France, on September 3, 1939 (Carr, 1990, pp.207, 218, 267-274, 277-278; Herzstein, 1974, p.143). The world would now begin to challenge Hitler's *Lebensraum* policy with counter-force.

⁷ It would appear that Sir Halford Mackinder's geopolitical theories influenced Hitler's strategies for expansion into central Europe. According to Mackinder control of the 'Heartland' of Europe, stretching from the Rhineland through Central and Eastern Europe to the Urals, is the key to world conquest (Mackinder, 1942, p.150). Mackinder's book '*Democratic Ideals and Reality*' influenced General Karl Haushofer who turned geopolitics into a 'pseudo-science' for Hitler (Olson, 1992, p.46): "Through Haushofer, in turn, Mackinder has had an impact on Hitler's mental processes, with the result that some of his ideas have found their way into the pages of *Mein Kampf*" (Earle, 1942, p.xxii).

⁸ By this expression, Hitler is probably referring to the religious crusaders of the early middle ages.

Several international relations scholars claim that the policy of appeasing Hitler allowed Germany's expansion policies to continue, and thus made war inevitable. For example, Morgenthau observes that,

“Neville Chamberlain's politics of appeasement were, as far as we can judge, inspired by good motives...and he sought to preserve the peace and to assure the happiness of all concerned. Yet, his policies helped to make the Second World War inevitable” (Morgenthau, 1985, p.6).

Furthermore, as Hitler Germany continued its aggressive expansionism in the late 1930s no fixed alliances existed which could reliably deter this process. This view is supported by Evan Luard,

“The fact that there existed no stable alliances diminished the feasibility of any consistent policy of deterrence in the interwar era. France's policy was to a large extent designed to establish just such a structure of alliances as would be necessary for deterrence. But the reluctance of the British and Americans to enter into commitments of the kind that France demanded, and the ultimate disintegration of the Little Entente [i.e. Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Yugoslavia], prevented her from achieving this purpose. The sudden shifts in alliance of countries like Poland and Italy, and, eventually, the Soviet Union, made it impossible to create any coalition of such stability as might have deterred Hitler effectively” (Luard, 1967, p.175).

Hence, the German Reich's policy of geographical enlargement and the forceful domination of its neighbours proceeded apace without any 'convincing' military counterweight. Moreover, the German threat of war over its annexation plans in the Sudetenland was averted by the Munich agreement⁹ which granted the German annexation demands. At this conference Hitler rationalised Germany's absorption of the Sudeten territory on the basis that it was “within the general framework of the European status quo and was not intent upon overthrowing it”. Therefore, it would seem that the years which preceded the Second World War were characterised by a reluctance to 'provoke' German aggression and a willingness to concede to Germany's demands (Luard, 1967, p.175; Morgenthau, 1985, p.79; Carr, 1983, pp.150-151, 216).

The historical observations made in this case study would seem to correspond to the 'id-ego' component of the fourth image of war outlined earlier. In support of this conclusion, the following four main conclusions can be made:

First, Hitler's policy of *Lebensraum* describes the domination of smaller, militarily weak states by larger and stronger ones. Similarly, the domination of the weak by the strong was emphasised in Freud's essay *Why War?* Moreover, the forceful domination of the weak by

⁹ The Munich agreement was signed at a conference in Munich between Germany, Britain, France, and Italy, on September 29, 1938 (Palmer, 1990, pp.289-290).

the strong, corresponds to a pessimistic view of human nature, i.e. the 'id-ego' axis of Freud's model: in other words, hostile, anti-social states or individuals, monopolise the instruments of force and resort to overt aggression to conquer weaker more vulnerable ones. For example, the Reich re-armed so that it could realise its goal of subjugating the countries that comprise Mackinder's European 'Heartland'. Also, if the state *apparatus* is thought of as a collective 'ego' then Hitler's foreign policy would seem to have been based on the 'ego' interests of self-preservation, i.e. state security, and national pride: as discussed above, Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, discusses the need for Germany's self-preservation by violently imposing its will on other states. In other words, the collective 'ego' interest of self-preservation and national security were used to justify the Reich's recourse to overt aggression. This anti-social predisposition of the German Reich is embodied in Hitler's assertion in *Mein Kampf* that,

“One must be quite clear about the fact that the regaining of the lost regions [i.e. from the First World War] will not come about ...through pious hopes in a League of Nations but only by force of arms” (Hitler, 1939, p.912)¹⁰.

Furthermore, as indicated above, Hitler Germany's overall plan was not confined to recovering 'lost territories', but also to dominating much of the 'Heart' of Europe. Thus, the Third Reich's idea of the state as an instrument of aggression, i.e. *Machtstaat*, which at the same time disregarded any social responsibilities outside of its own borders, epitomises the Hobbesian, i.e. 'id-ego' pole, of Freud's psychological map.

Secondly, despite its reassurance of respect for the status quo, Hitler's regime continued to plunder new territories before the onset of war in 1939. As indicated above, German aggression would seem to have been facilitated by the lack of any effective deterrence mechanisms. Therefore, in the preamble to the Second World War, Hitler's aggressive expansionism, as Waltz's third image would also predict, was facilitated by the anarchical nature of the international system. In other words, the lack of any effective counterbalance to Germany's military expansion, combined with the policy of appeasing Hitler's aggression, allowed Germany to act as it pleased, and thus, the collective 'egoism' and accompanying aggression of the German state went unchecked. Not only did Hitler reject the 'moral' authority of such institutions as The League of Nations, but, the international system, as Luard's comments suggest, did not possess the political will or capacity to arrange an alliance strong

¹⁰ Germany joined the League of Nations as a great power in 1925 after signing the Locarno Pact which confirmed the 'inviolability' of the Franco-German and Belgo-German borders and the demilitarized zones of the Rhineland. Herzstein observes that Germany's recognition in the League of Nations represented "a supreme symbol of reconciliation among former enemies" (Herzstein, 1974, p.119; Palmer, 1990, p.257). Nonetheless, this spirit of reconciliation faded when Hitler sent German troops into the Rhineland in March, 1936, and thereby repudiated the international legitimacy of the League of Nations.

enough to deter the Reich: therefore, it would appear that Germany under the Third Reich represented a very 'black' hole in international society!

In addition, the anarchical character of the international system, as regards Germany's aggression, could also be described by the concept of the 'cultural superego'. It was suggested previously that international institutions such the balance of power correspond to the coercive aspect of the 'cultural superego', i.e. those coercive social forces which counteract acts of aggression in society, at the inter-state level-of-analysis. However, in the interwar period no such 'coercive' alliance system existed which was capable of deterring German aggression.

Thirdly, it would seem that the external factors which contributed to Germany's aggressive expansion were accompanied by stresses within German society. In particular, the Germany which Hitler's regime inherited suffered from certain social tensions which could, theoretically, have resulted in the projection and displacement of internal aggression by the German state to its external environment¹¹. For example, the German *Volk*, i.e. people, which the Third Reich claimed to represent, had suffered repeated economic and political crisis under the faltering Weimar Republic, and by the early 1930s had become extremely "demoralized" (Herzstein, 1974, p.117). Furthermore, as Hitler indicates in *Mein Kampf*, Germany's defeat in the First World War resulted in a sense of shame and loss of pride amongst the German people. Accordingly, it would appear that Hitler capitalised on Germany's defeat, which he referred to as "deserved" and "an outward symptom of decay, " to justify the need for a strong, militarily assertive German state under Nazi leadership: Hitler claimed that the Reich would restore the instinct of self-preservation to the German people (Hitler, 1939, pp.309, 312). In addition, in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler described Germany's population pressures as one reason for Germany's quest for *Lebensraum*,

"By the rapid increase of the German people's number before the War [World War I], the question of supplying the daily bread stepped into the foreground of all political and economic thought and activity in a more and more acute manner (Hitler, 1939, pp.315).

Thus, in summary, a general feeling of disgrace over the German defeat, combined with Germany's chronic economic and political problems of the 1920s and early 1930s, and the mounting population pressures of the German *Volk* are factors that could have contributed to: the mounting tension within the German state, a need for external scapegoats for domestic tensions, and the German perception that it must expand its territorial boundaries. A similar observation is made by Bullock in his book *Hitler, A Study in Tyranny*,

¹¹ As described above, Freud, and other psychoanalytic/ political theorists such as Durbin and Bowlby, thought that these 'ego' mechanisms of defence accounted for the phenomena of inter-state violence.

“The recovery and re-assertion of German power abroad were substitute satisfactions for the frustrated social revolution at home...Above all, such a foreign policy was the logical projection of that unappeased will to power, both in Hitler and in the Nazi party” (Bullock, 1952, p.285).

Moreover, as Durbin’s above-mentioned comments suggest, the projection of the German *Volk*’s political and social frustrations upon the Jewish population, both at home and abroad, reached ‘paranoic’ proportions. Therefore, it appears that many internal pressures existed within German society in the interwar period, and as a result, this author argues, these tensions were projected and displaced externally to the international environment, which at first offered no resistance to the Reich’s ambitions, and consequently, Germany found a safety valve for its internal problems and frustrations.

Fourthly, in summary, the analysis undertaken in this case study combines elements of Waltz’s third image, i.e. international anarchy, with a psychoanalytic model of human behaviour, i.e. Waltz’s first image. In particular, this case study connects Germany’s aggressive ‘egoism’ *vis-à-vis* international society, which would seem to have been exacerbated by internal social and political tensions, with the concept of anarchy, i.e. a society of states which lacked an effective force to deter Germany’s aggressive moves, to analyse the events which led to the Second World War. In addition, since this case study also cites internal pressures within the German state which might have contributed to the displacement of these tensions externally, it could be argued that this fourth image analysis of Germany’s aggressive behaviour also contains elements of Waltz’s second-image, as well.

5.3.2.0. The Sino-Soviet Rift

This case study will demonstrate that the Sino-Soviet rift, which eventually resulted in armed border conflict between the two states in the late 1960s, illustrates the idea of a revolt against Soviet authority. Furthermore, as explained above, and according to the fourth image of war and conflict, this rebellion represents a clash of one state *apparat*, i.e. China, with the hegemonic rule of the Soviet Union-the lead state of the International Communist movement. Accordingly, this section will conclude that the Sino-Soviet rift represents a revolt against a demanding ‘cultural superego’ at the inter-state level-of-analysis. The following study will provide an overview of the historical basis of this dispute, and will subsequently demonstrate how this conflict fits into a fourth image analysis of war.

5.3.2.1. An Historical Preamble

Some analysts, for example Noguee, trace the roots of the Sino-Soviet conflict back to the 13th and 14th centuries when Russia was conquered by the Mongol Tartars. Also, from the seventeenth century up until the collapse of the Chinese empire in 1911, numerous conflicts

between the Russians and Chinese occurred along the border regions of Outer China. Finally, in a “reversal of fortunes” between the two countries, in the 19th century, the Russian Tsar took advantage of Chinese ‘weakness’ by imposing “unequal treaties” upon the Manchu Emperor; as a result, large territories along the Amur and Ussuri rivers were ceded to Russia. Up until this time, China had never been dominated by another state, and had for five thousand years thought of itself as the *Chung Kuo* (the Central Land)-an island of cultural superiority and splendour in a sea of barbarians and ‘political inferiors’ (Nogee, 1988, p.231; Stern, 1990, pp.180-181). As was suggested earlier, the Chinese empire would seem to have suffered from a ‘superiority complex’ in that refused to see any other country as its equal: in other words, it would seem that the Chinese empire had maintained an ‘egocentric’, i.e. self-centred, attitude *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world. Consequently, it seems conceivable that China’s own historical perception of itself, combined with the history of the Russian-Chinese relations, made it more difficult for the Chinese to accept the Soviet Union’s leadership after 1949.

5.3.2.2. The Chinese Communist Movement: pre-1949

When the Chinese People’s Republic was formed in 1949 under the leadership of Mao Testing, China and the Soviet Union avoided the discussion of any past, or possible future, differences between them. Nevertheless, the relationship between Moscow and the Chinese Communist Party before 1949 had not been without its difficulties, and, in reality, the Communist success in China owed little to Soviet assistance. For example, Moscow in the 1920s, had shown little faith in the fledgling Chinese Communist Party’s capacity to organise a revolution in China, and consequently Soviet Russia formed, in January 1923, a tripartite alliance-a United Revolutionary Front-between itself, Sun Yat-sen’s Kuomintang party, and the Chinese Communist Party. This alliance proved to be a disaster for the Chinese Communists when, in April 1927, Chiang Kai-shek terminated the alliance by massacring Communists in the Communist controlled city of Shanghai. Furthermore, Soviet advice had only made matters worse for the Chinese Communists: Moscow had ordered that the Communist workers should hide their weapons and allow Chiang’s troops to enter the city unopposed. After the failure of the United Front strategy, Stalin, over the following two decades, only gave scant moral and material assistance to the Chinese Communists (Schwartz, 1973, pp.108, 114, 154; Stern, 1990, pp.120-121).

Following the rupture of the Kuomintang-Communist alliance in 1927, the few remaining Chinese Communists were left isolated: in this period of isolation it was Mao Testing

and his fellow cadres who forged the 'winning' strategy of a People's War in China¹². Thus, left to their own devices Mao Tse-Tung's party set out to 'Sinify' Marxism, which he described in a report to the party's sixth plenum in October, 1938, as 'making certain that in all of its manifestations it is imbued with Chinese peculiarities' (Johnson, 1965, p.49; Stern, 1990, p.123).

Therefore, after the fiasco in Shanghai, and before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese Communists had been able to maintain a high degree of independence from Moscow's leadership. Furthermore, by establishing their own formula for Communist revolution, it would appear Mao had already shown signs of his regimes' potential egocentricity, i.e. self-centredness, towards its Soviet master.

5.3.2.3. The Sino-Soviet Rift: A fourth image perspective

As was suggested earlier in this chapter, the Soviet Union's rôle as leader of the Communist bloc is an example of the management of a regional alliance system by a single hegemonic power. Furthermore, as argued above, a hegemonic power, such as the Soviet Union, initiates and enforces the values, norms, and institutional arrangements for co-operation between member countries. For example, in the case of the Soviet Union, it established the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), in January, 1949, to facilitate bilateral economic relations between member states (Stern, 1990, 103). Moreover, Moscow determined the ideological basis for the development of International Communism, and determined when and how the Communist doctrine should be altered: for example, the rejection of the inevitability of war between the Capitalist and Communist camps, and its replacement with Khrushchev's theory of peaceful co-existence between the Eastern and Western blocs, at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, (Nogee, 1988, p.28), represents a case where Moscow used its leadership position to re-shape the values of the Communist system.

Moreover, this thesis contends that the management by a hegemonic power represents one form of the 'cultural superego' at the inter-state level-of-analysis. In particular, as was explained in previously, the leadership of the Soviet Union over its satellites was characterised by both conciliatory/benevolent and punitive mechanisms of socialisation, and thus, its leadership represented both the 'ego-ideal' and 'coercive' aspects of the 'cultural superego'. For

¹² The doctrine of a People's War consisted of five main principles: mobilisation of the masses for revolutionary war; organisation of the population into mass associations; creation of a large, Party-led Revolutionary Army; guerrilla warfare tactics; and a state of protracted war to wear down the opposition. Furthermore, Mao's strategy combined nationalism and Marxism-Leninism to gain the support of the masses (Johnson, 1965, pp.49-54).

instance, in order to facilitate co-operation and to gain the respect of its satellites the Soviet Union provided such incentives as technical assistance, subsidised oil and gas, and financial aid. Secondly, the Soviet Union demonstrated, for example with its “bloody suppression of the Hungarian Revolution by Soviet tanks in the early days of November 1956” (Nogee, 1988, p.122), that it would not tolerate any internal dissent within the Communist bloc. Yet, despite its monopoly over the instruments of coercion, which included a nuclear arsenal, the Chinese state, after 1956, began to dissent from Moscow’s centralised command over the Communist movement. The remainder of this section will trace the evolution, within the context of a fourth image analysis, of the Chinese revolt from 1949-1969 .

After the Chinese Communist Party took power in 1949, Stalin and Mao, although they had faced a troubled past together, maintained a ‘public facade of unity’. Besides, China seemed to accept the leadership rôle of the Soviet Union. For example, Mao Tse-Tung stated, in his ‘lean to one side policy’ that China must ally itself with the Soviet Union, the lead state in the International Communist movement. As well, the authority of the Soviet Union during this period emphasised the conciliatory aspect of the ‘cultural superego’. For example, Moscow tried to bolster the two countries’ friendship by providing a low-interest line of credit to China¹³. In addition, the Soviet Union and China signed a thirty-year treaty of friendship, alliance, and mutual assistance (Schwartz, 1973, pp.154-158). Accordingly, relations between the two countries remained, at least superficially, amicable until the post-Stalin period.

Signs of increasing tension between the Soviet and Chinese regimes started to appear in 1956. Nogee, in his book *Soviet Foreign Policy Since World War II (1988)*, divides the Sino-Soviet dispute into three phases (Nogee, 1988, p.231-239). During the first phase, from 1956-1960, the differences of opinion between the two countries were expressed confidentially within the world socialist movement. For example, the Chinese expressed reservations over Khrushchev’s denunciation of Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, which had been undertaken without consulting them. Later on in 1956, the Chinese quietly expressed their dissatisfaction with Soviet leadership in a People’s Daily article: this article only recognised the Soviet Union as the ‘centre’, rather than the leader ‘of the international Communist movement’. Subsequently, in November, 1957, Khrushchev arranged a conference of Communist parties at which he tried to obtain the “undisputed recognition of Soviet leadership over the communist camp” (Nogee, 1988, pp.232-233; Stern, 1990, pp.174). Furthermore, China started to elaborate an independent course of development: for instance, in May, 1958, the Chinese initiated ‘The

¹³ However, the provisions of this loan were not very generous considering that the Soviets had given a larger loan to Poland two years earlier (Schwartz, 1973, p.158). Therefore, it seems that the Soviet Union’s feeling of benevolence towards its Chinese subject was limited, even in his period of ‘apparent’ friendship between the two countries.

Great Leap Forward' where five hundred million peasants were moved in to communes. The Chinese believed that the 'Great Leap Forward' programme would assure a fast-track to Communism: the Chinese claimed that they had discovered the path "for bringing perfect Communism to China very quickly". 'The Great Leap Forward' represented a sharp break with the Soviet model of development, and therefore a repudiation of Soviet norms for economic and social development within the Communist bloc. Consequently, this turn of events would seem to have aggravated the Soviet leader, Khrushchev: "Khrushchev clearly viewed the Chinese ideological claims of 1958 as an outright attempt to seize the leadership of the world Communist movement" (Schwartz, 1973, pp.180-185).

Therefore, during the late 1950s the first signs of China's revolt against the Soviet leadership of the Communist bloc were already apparent. During this 'first phase' of the Sino-Soviet rift China had started to question, and even reject, some of the principles of International Communism on which Moscow's leadership was based:

"At the center of their dispute was the Sino-Soviet estrangement and China's decision to proceed with its development independent of the Soviet Union" (Johnson, 1965, p.73).

Specifically, Mao's ambition to forge an independent route for Chinese Communism was apparent in 'The Great Leap Forward' scheme.

Although signs of enmity were developing between China and the Soviet Union during the period from 1956-60, this period was also characterised by some degree of amity between the two powers. For instance, on October 15, 1957, the two countries signed an agreement in which the Soviet Union pledged to make China a nuclear power (Schwartz, 1973, p.175). It would seem that Moscow's gesture was designed to gain China's respect, and for the moment, "the atomic bribe seemed to have worked" (Schwartz, 1973, p.178). In support of this conclusion Schwartz observes that after the nuclear agreement had been signed, Mao Tse-tung, in a speech delivered at Moscow University, declared that,

"The Socialist camp must have a head, and this head is the U.S.S.R....The Communist and workers parties of all countries must have a head and that head is the Communist party of the Soviet Union" (Schwartz, 1973, p.178).

Also, in 1957, the Chinese followed the Soviet example by introducing their own de-Stalinisation experiment: accordingly, Mao's 'hundred flowers' programme was designed to relieve internal political tensions by allowing some free speech (Schwartz, 1973, pp.175, 178)¹⁴ Therefore, between 1956-1960, China's increasingly 'egocentric' behaviour *vis-à-vis* Moscow was also punctuated by sporadic bouts of social co-operation.

¹⁴ However, this programme was short-lived because it gave way to harsh criticisms of the Communist system in China (Stern, 1990, p.175).

In the 'second phase' of the Sino-Soviet rift, from 1960-1964, China's revolt against its Soviet master became more bellicose, as it openly questioned the right of Moscow to lead the Communist bloc. Moreover, as Geoffrey Stern observes, the hostilities between the two countries came into the open:

"The Chinese effectively opened up the Sino-Soviet rift to public view with an article published in April, 1960...entitled 'Long Live Leninism', it was a stinging rebuttal of Soviet policy under Khrushchev" (Stern, 1990, p.182).

Therefore, China began to openly challenge the ideological grounds on which Moscow led the Socialist bloc¹⁵. Consequently, the schism between the two powers deepened "as both sides attempted to mobilize support within the communist camp" (Nogee, 1988, pp.232, 235). For instance, at the Roumanian Party's Third Congress in Bucharest, April, 1960,

"A verbal slugfest between Khrushchev and P'eng Chen publicly forced the communist delegates to stand on one side or another" (Nogee, 1988, pp.235).

Furthermore, in an apparent reaction to these open verbal attacks, the Soviets tried to exercise their authority over China via punitive sanctions. For example, two months after the confrontation in Bucharest the Soviets withdrew all their aid and technical assistance in China. However, threats of punishment did not make China step down from its challenge to Soviet rule. In fact, in the early 1960s the Chinese became more defiant and started to talk about leading the international Communist movement,

"For the first time, the Chinese were laying claim to eventual leadership of International Communism, and receiving support from among the Albanian, North Korean, and North Vietnamese delegations" (Stern, 1988, p.182).

Hence, the Chinese revolt was now turning into a struggle for political hegemony over the world socialist movement.

Though there were no military exchanges during the 'second phase, ' other manifestations of aggression between the two powers were evident. In addition to the above-mentioned verbal battles, the dispute degenerated, in 1963, into a "War of Words",

"The Sino-Soviet war of words during June-October 1963 had proved that as November 1963 began the two largest and most powerful Communist-ruled nations on earth were deadly enemies engaged in as bitter and potentially explosive a struggle as any witnessed during the more than 300 years which had elapsed since Russian and Chinese subjects first met-and exchanged shots-on the Amur River in the 1650s" (Schwartz, 1973, p.261).

¹⁵ Although the dispute centred on matters of ideological concern, material and sociocultural issues were also involved (Stern, 1990, 182). For example, as noted above, Mao attempted to forge a Chinese brand of Communism which was consistent with Chinese cultural 'peculiarities'.

Furthermore, following the 'war of words', the Chinese, in an apparent show of strength, tested their first nuclear device on October 16, 1964 (Stern, 1990, p.187).

Ultimately, in the 'third phase' of the Sino-Soviet conflict, after 1964, the socialist system had become divided into two separate political systems (Nogee, 1988, p.232). In effect, China had completely abdicated from the Soviet bloc and now seemed intent on leading its own group of Communist states.

Also, the level of tension and hostility between the two countries escalated after 1964. Furthermore, with the advent of the Cultural Revolution, in 1966, Chinese xenophobia mounted and "Chinese policies went to extraordinary-at times bizarre-lengths to show their hostility and contempt for the Russians" (Nogee, 1988, p.239). Therefore, China's collective 'egocentrism' towards Soviet hegemony had now taken on more bellicose characteristics. Consequently, after the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, in August, 1968, the Soviet Union made it clear that the 'Brezhnev doctrine' could apply as much to China as Czechoslovakia (Stern, 1990, p.189). Thus, it would seem that Moscow had not completely accepted China's resignation from the Eastern bloc, and tried to pressure the Chinese by threatening to punish it for its recalcitrant and openly hostile behaviour. In other words, it appears that the Soviet hegemon tried to induce China's conformity via threats of coercion, which according to a fourth image analysis would correspond to a coercive form of social cohesion of the 'cultural superego'. Nonetheless, the Chinese seemed to have been unimpressed by Moscow's threats, and rather than being coerced into conformity, as Czechoslovakia had been, China denounced the 'Brezhnev doctrine' of 'limited sovereignty' as 'an outright doctrine of hegemony' (Stern, 1990, p.189).

During the late 1960s, the relations between the two countries continued to degenerate, and at the end of the decade China and the Soviet Union seemed on the verge of war (Stern, 1990, p.180). Although war was never 'officially' declared by either side, 'undeclared' warfare broke out along the countries' borders on March 2, 1969: Chinese soldiers attacked some Soviet border guards on a small island in the Ussuri River, which was a piece of territory that the Chinese claimed sovereignty over¹⁶. Consequently, on May 15, 1969, the Soviets launched a counter-attack 'as a lesson and a warning to the Chinese', and infiltrated 'deep' into Chinese territory with their heavy artillery for a short time (Nogee, 1988, p.238). As a result, tensions remained high between the two countries for most of 1969,

"Day after day the world heard reports of pitched battles between Chinese and Soviet troops on their common border, battles in which many were killed and wounded on both sides...The high tension and intermittent fighting stretched for months during the spring and summer of 1969" (Schwartz, 1973, p.279).

¹⁶ This island was part of the above-mentioned territory which had been seized by the Russian Tsar in the nineteenth century.

Although Moscow did not proceed with more extensive military sanctions against China, as it had done in Czechoslovakia, its troop movements suggested that it might. Expecting the Soviet Union's use of more coercive sanctions, the Chinese, in the latter part of 1969, prepared for nuclear or conventional air attacks and a possible ground invasion,

“The Soviet Union kept a large number of its best army and air force units on the Chinese border and in Mongolia. In China millions of people were put to work building underground air raid shelters...against the possibility of Soviet air attacks with conventional or nuclear weapons” (Schwartz, 1973, p.279).

Although the worst never came, the Sino-Soviet rift signified that the Soviet Commonwealth had now disintegrated into two camps as a ‘New Cold War’ had emerged (Stern, 1990, pp.173-195).

5.3.2.4. Summary

This case study has argued that the Soviet Union's management of the Communist bloc of states represented the institutions of social cohesion of the ‘cultural superego’ for those states under its authority: accordingly, this analysis has tried to show that states, in a similar way that Freud described for individuals, can rebel against an external authority and social restraints. In support of this conclusion, this historical example has attempted to show that, as the events of the Sino-Soviet rift gained momentum after 1956, Mao Tse-Tung's regime, like the former Chinese empire, demonstrated that it was not prepared ‘*kow-tow*’ before a foreign master. In their prolonged revolt against Moscow, the Chinese continued to distance themselves from Moscow, and eventually, completely rejected Moscow's right of leadership: the manifestations of aggression gradually escalated from verbal abuse and polemics, to threats of intervention by Moscow, and finally to an ‘undeclared’ border war. Moreover, China elaborated its own ideological system for international socialism and started recruiting its own converts: moreover, it became apparent, in the 1960s, that China was interested in establishing its own political sphere of influence.

Furthermore, this case study has tried to show that the Soviet leadership over its satellites resembled the centralised authority which exists within states, rather than the anarchical international political system which Waltz portrays in the third image. In the end, although other countries such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary had tried to flout Moscow's authority, only China succeeded in its protracted rebellion, and even pushed its revolt to the point of total war. Consequently, according to the model developed in this thesis, China had become a ‘social black hole’ within the ‘society’ of states under Moscow's tutelage.

Finally, although this case study has tried to show how the past history and relations between China and the former Soviet Union contributed to China's eventual revolt against

Moscow, other internal sources of social and political stress also existed which might have added to the tensions between the two states. For example, the Cultural Revolution in China in the late 1960s added to the atmosphere of chaos and tension within China (Schwartz, 1973, p.279). Therefore, according to a fourth image analysis, the Chinese state, at this particular time in history, was experiencing internal problems which could have, conceivably, been a source of externally displaced aggression.

5.3.3. The American Civil War

This case study will try to show how the social contract of the state *apparatus* with domestic society, and its constitutional rights to legislate and enforce the principles of social cohesion for the state collectivity, may become a source of contention for certain domestic groups. Furthermore, according to a fourth image analysis, the state *apparatus's* social contract with the constituent members of 'civil society' represents a manifestation of the 'cultural superego'. In other words, the normative framework, for example the norms, laws, and values, enforced by the centralised state *apparatus* facilitates social cohesion within the state grouping, which is also the social function of the 'cultural superego'. In this particular example, the authority of Washington to impose certain norms, specifically those relating to slavery, on the Southern States of America finally led to civil war. The following analysis will first explain the historical precedents which led to the American Civil War, and will finally relate these historical details to the fourth image.

The American Civil War, which is also commonly referred to as the War of Rebellion because it represented 'a revolt against the Government of the United States', had roots which extended back to 'sectional grievances' that had remained unresolved after fifty years of negotiation: for instance, in theory, the Thirteen States that won the American Revolution did not give up their sovereign rights as separate political entities when they ratified the Constitution of the United States. This historical fact led some Southern States, for example South Carolina, to declare that the Constitution of the United States limited the Federal government's ability to intervene in the sovereign, i.e. independent, affairs of the separate states of the American Union (Hansen, 1961, pp.9-10, 11, 14-15). As a result, South Carolina, in the 1820s, proposed the doctrine of nullification which,

“meant that when an act of Congress or of the Federal government transgressed those rights that a state considered reserved to itself, it was unconstitutional and the injured state could use its power to stop enforcement of the act within its borders, thus making the act null and void” (Hansen, 1961, p.15).

However, despite the clause of sovereignty within the American Constitution, the federal government threatened to force South Carolina into conformity with the laws of the land, and to punish its act of treason,

“President Andrew Jackson at once became the champion of the Federal authority. He was not going to have the laws of the land treated thus by a state. He denounced nullification as rebellious treason and warned South Carolina that he would enforce the laws. He sent two warships to Charleston and troops to the border” (Hansen, 1961, p.18).

Thus, this first round of ‘collective egoism’ by a southern state had been prevented via Washington’s threat of coercive sanctions.

Although South Carolina’s move for independence had been successfully suppressed in the 1820s, this event presaged a more serious revolt against Washington’s authority in the 1860s. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina led a secessionist campaign by voting for an ordinance of secession from the Union of the United States. Subsequently, in the first half of 1861, ten other states¹⁷ voted for secession, and adopted a provisional constitution for the Confederate States of America (Hansen, 1961, pp.34-35). On this occasion, the polarisation of values which tore America apart was centred on the political issue of slavery,

“The problem for Americans who, in the age of Lincoln, wanted slaves to be free was not simply that southerners wanted the opposite, but that they themselves cherished a conflicting value: they wanted the Constitution, which protected slavery, to be honored, and the Union, which was a fellowship with slave-holders, to be preserved. Thus they were committed to values that could not logically be reconciled” (Potter, 1976, pp.44-45).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, and after England emancipated its slaves in the British West Indies in 1833, there was a rapid growth of public opinion against slavery in the Northern and Western parts of America; this anti-slavery feeling coincided with a rapid growth of slavery in the South (Knowles, 1926, pp.33-34). Furthermore, a concern that the institution of slavery did not concur with the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and the rights of man, on which the American Constitution was based, became more acute in the early nineteenth century. With the advent of the Abolitionist Movement in the 1830s public sentiment, especially in the North, against slavery increased, and by the 1840s the abolitionists had established a voice in Congress, including the former President, John Quincy Adams (Potter, 1976, pp.38-40; Knowles, 1926, p.34). Subsequently, from 1846, when the Wilmot Amendment, which proposed that the institution of slavery be outlawed in newly acquired free territories, was presented to Congress and ‘opened the floodgates of sectionalism’, until 1861,

¹⁷ These other secessionist states, which were all against the abolition of slavery, included: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee (Hansen, 1961, p.34).

“Congress became for fifteen years the arena of continuous battle...No other issue in American history has so monopolised the political scene” (Potter, 1976, pp.18-21, 49).

Whereas there had been other points of disagreement within the American Union, such as the issue of protective tariffs to shelter Northern industries, which the South opposed, the issue of slavery managed to act as a catalyst for sectional animosities (Potter, 1976, pp.32, 48). As a result, the anti-slavery crusade managed to leave the South feeling more alienated from the Union, which finally led to “the egocentric, the destructive, the evil, the malignant type of sectionalism, that destroyed the Union in 1861” (Owsley, 1959, pp.18-20).

Although the political tide in America increasingly favoured the abolition of the institution of slavery, Washington had also demonstrated that it was prepared to make compromises to the South to keep the Union intact. For example, The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which alarmed Northern states, allowed the recovery of ‘runaway’ slaves by a slave-owner within the American Union without any court hearing (Hansen, 1961, p.19). Moreover, Abraham Lincoln, who came to power in 1861 on a anti-slavery ticket (Hansen, 1961, pp.28-30), was prepared to make concessions to the South to keep the American Union together,

“On the eve of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln, who thoroughly disapproved of slavery, was willing to amend the Constitution to guarantee its protection in states which chose to retain it” (Potter, 1976, p.46).

However, the Southern states, after declaring their formal independence from Washington, would not be placated, and on April 14, 1861 proceeded to seize a federal outpost, Fort Sumter, South Carolina (Hansen, 1961, p.37). The fall of Fort Sumter marked the beginning of a four year confrontation between Washington and the Southern confederacy, in which,

“The Government at Washington would attempt to bring the Confederacy back into the Union at the point of the bayonet” (Knowles, 1926, p.50).

Though the American Constitution technically allowed a state to secede, apparently the South had pushed the issue too far, and as a result, the North “attempted the coercion of the seceding States because men of the North denied the right of a State to secede” (Knowles, 1926, p.33).

From the perspective of the fourth image of war, the Southern States of America represented a ‘social black hole’ in Washington’s social contract with the member states of the Union. According to a fourth image analysis the ‘Rebellion’ by eleven southern states, whereby they rejected Washington’s authority to legislate and enforce particular norms and laws, and in particular those relating to slavery, represents a revolt against the demands of the ‘cultural superego’, i.e. the state *apparatus*’ social contract with the members (i.e. both individuals citizens and groups) of domestic society: moreover, as this case study tried to show, the American state *apparatus* employed both conciliatory and coercive means to prevent the

disintegration of the American state and to counteract the rebel state's rebellion against state norms. As was explained above, in the 1820s the federal government successfully coerced South Carolina into reconsidering its 'anti-social' nullification legislation, which would have sharply curtailed Washington's central enforcement capacities by cancelling undesirable Federal laws. Also, as Lincoln proved in 1861, the federal government, after the South's show of force in Fort Sumter, was again prepared to force the Confederacy back into the Union by punitive sanctions. Both of these examples, in which the South's 'treasonous' behaviour was to be punished by threats of force by the central government, represent, according to the fourth image, the coercive aspects of the 'cultural superego'. In addition, Washington's willingness to compromise with the South's demands represents the 'ego-ideal' aspect of the 'cultural superego': in other words, in order to ensure the South's continued respect and adherence to the laws and norms of the land, Washington was prepared, and indeed attempted, to compromise on the contentious issue of slavery, as a gesture of benevolence towards the increasingly alienated Southern states.

Nevertheless, Washington's second encounter with the militant South was not to end as simply as the first: the South remained recalcitrant and equipped itself to fight, and thus Washington prepared itself to coerce the South back to conformity 'at the point of a bayonet'. However, this would not be easily accomplished as it would take four years from April, 1861 to April 26, 1865, and the loss of over one million lives (Knowles, 1926, pp.51; Hansen, 1961, pp.10-11), to quell this round of 'collective egoism' by the South, and to re-integrate the Southern states into the social fabric of the American Union.

5.4.0. Conclusion

This chapter has tried to elaborate and test a psychoanalytic image of war. At the beginning of the chapter, Waltz's three images of war, which provides an overview of the major theories of inter-human and inter-state aggression, were described. Subsequently, it was concluded that a psychoanalytic model of war could be used to construct a fourth image of war.

The major features of the fourth image, and theoretical conclusions of this chapter, are summarised in Figure three: The Fourth Image of War and Conflict. The left side of Figure three compares Waltz's First image Optimists and Pessimists to Freud's 'id-ego-superego' model: the optimist's theory of human nature correlates to the 'ego-superego' axis, whereas the pessimists' view of human psychology corresponds to the 'id-ego' axis.

Figure Three: The Fourth Image of War

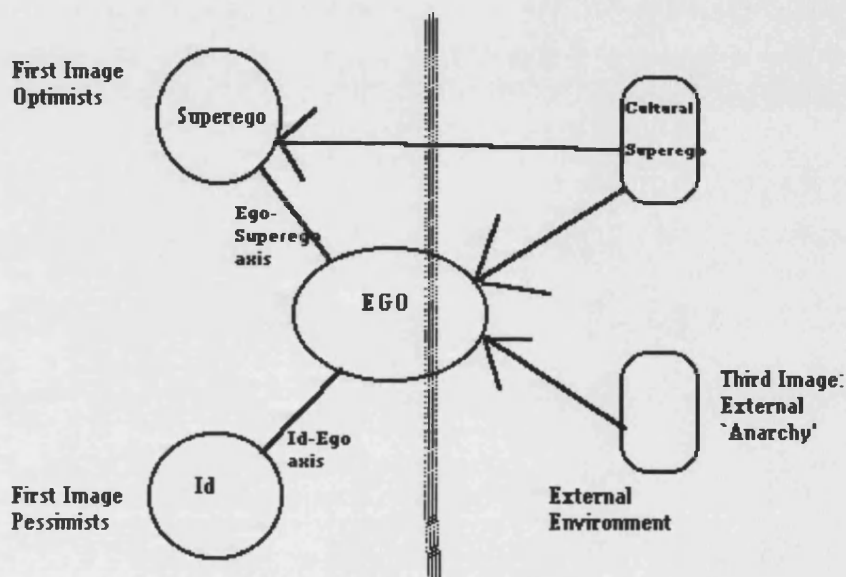


Figure Three

The right side of Figure Three depicts the external environment of the 'id-ego-superego' model. As described earlier in this chapter, the fourth image incorporates Waltz's third image of external anarchy with the 'id-ego-superego' model of human psychology. Furthermore, it was argued that Waltz's third image presumes a pessimistic view of human nature because this image assumes that state collectivities may take advantage of 'anarchy' in the international system to satisfy their own selfish aims. Thus, according to the fourth image, Waltz's third image has been placed directly across from the 'id-ego' axis and first image pessimists part of Figure Three. Moreover, the blank square, in the lower right hand quadrant of Figure Three, denotes an anarchical external environment, i.e. no means of social enforcement mechanism such as a central government.

In addition, the fourth image has challenged Waltz's idea that the international environment of states is always anarchical: according to the fourth image both coercive and consensual aspects of socialisation can be detected in particular institutions of international society, for example the management of a group of states by a hegemonic power. Furthermore, the enforcement mechanisms employed by a hegemonic power, such as the former Soviet

Union, resemble the authority of the centralised state in relation to domestic society: accordingly, the fourth image has argued that the institutions of social cohesion within international society, as well as within the state collectivity, correspond to the social cohesion functions of the 'cultural superego'. As explained in this thesis, Freud's concept of the 'cultural superego' presumes that man or collective man will, usually, co-operate with the normative framework of society, which in turn helps to prevent anti-social behaviour such as aggression, either by states or individual human beings: therefore, in figure three the 'cultural superego' is represented in the upper right hand quadrant directly across from the 'ego-superego' and first image optimists portion of the diagram. However, as has been demonstrated in this chapter, the concept of the 'cultural superego' is not an entirely optimistic one¹⁸. Although, the concept of the 'superego' suggests that most individuals and groups co-operate with societies' demands most of the time, it is possible that aggression may occur as a result of the restriction of individual autonomy, i.e. the ability to do and act as one pleases without regard to social restrictions. Accordingly, the dual nature (both optimistic and pessimistic) of the 'cultural superego' is represented in Figure Three: the arrow connecting the 'cultural superego' to the 'superego' indicates the social co-operation of an individual or collective actor¹⁹, whereas the arrow connecting the 'cultural superego' to the 'id-ego' axis indicates an aggressive response by an actor²⁰ to the restriction of its autonomy by societies' demands for conformity and social co-operation.

The final part of this chapter tried to test, empirically, the fourth image of war and conflict via historical case studies. On the one hand, it was concluded that Germany's aggressive expansion, combined with the 'anarchical' quality of the international environment in this particular case, corresponds to the 'id-ego' aspect of the fourth image of war. On the other hand, the Sino-Soviet rift was used to describe the revolt of one state actor, i.e. China, against the social demands of a hegemonic power, i.e. the former Soviet Union, which it was argued corresponds to a revolt against the social expectations of the 'cultural superego' at the inter-state level-of-analysis. In addition, the American Civil War case study tried to show that

¹⁸ It was noted in Chapter Two that the 'cultural superego', i.e. the normative structure of a particular society, shapes the development of the individual 'superego' i.e. an individual's, or a group's, engagement with society. Furthermore, as demonstrated in Figure One, the 'ego-ideal' aspect of the superego presumes an optimistic view of human nature, while the punitive part of the 'superego' presumes a more anti-social, i.e. pessimistic view of human nature. Therefore, in keeping with the observations made in Figure One, the 'cultural superego', as portrayed in Figure Two, mirrors both the pessimistic and optimistic aspects of the 'superego.'

¹⁹ As indicated earlier in this thesis the development of the 'superego' is evidenced by an individual's co-operation with the normative framework of society.

²⁰ According to this model the actor could be an individual or group within domestic society, or a state-actor in international society.

the idea of a revolt against the social demands of the 'cultural superego' also pertains to the intra-state level-of-analysis, and thus, to the aetiology of civil wars.

Finally, by elaborating a fourth image of war, and by explaining why Waltz never managed to pigeon-hole Freud in his three images, this chapter has tried to show that psychoanalytic theory offers a distinct image of both intra-state and inter-state aggression. Moreover, the findings of this chapter would seem to confirm Fred Halliday's observation,

"That in the late twentieth century no theory of human psychology, and of the unconscious and irrational forces within it, could be developed without at least a contestatory engagement with Freud" (Halliday, 1992, p.89).

Likewise, this chapter has tried to demonstrate that an analysis of the processes of aggression between humans and collectivities, such as states, cannot avoid an intellectual engagement with psychoanalytic theory.

Chapter Six: The Inter-Paradigm Debate: A Psychoanalytic Perspective

6.0.0. Introduction:

“It follows that it is wrong to think of ‘theory’ as something that is opposed to ‘reality’. The two cannot be separated. Every statement that is intended to describe or explain anything that happens in the world society is a theoretical statement” (Banks, 1985, p.7).

This final chapter will try to place the psychoanalytic theory of international relations developed in this thesis within the context of the major paradigms of the discipline. As Michael Banks’ above-mentioned quotation suggests, all interpretations of ‘reality’ are grounded in some theoretical framework, and this is also true of international relations. Furthermore, ‘facts’, such as historical observations, are analysed and categorised by theorists according to a particular model which represents a ‘general mental map’, i.e. paradigm, of how the world is structured. In the academic field of international relations the major ‘competing’ paradigms, which offer a ‘general explanation about the structure and processes of world society’, are structuralism, pluralism, and realism. The theoretical debate between these three ‘competing’ world views has been referred to by Banks as the ‘Inter-Paradigm Debate’ (Banks, 1985, pp.8, 10-12).

In his article ‘*The Inter-Paradigm Debate*’ (1985), Banks describes realism, structuralism, and pluralism as separate bodies of theory. However, this chapter will attempt to show how the psychoanalytic map of world politics outlined in this thesis overlaps with the methodology of each of these three different world views. This argument will be outlined in three parts. First, the idea of theoretical structuralism in international relations will be described, and then compared with the theoretical assumptions of psychoanalytic structuralism. The second part of this chapter will demonstrate how the psychoanalytic methodology presented in this thesis can theoretically explain the presence of non-state actors and transnational linkages in international politics, which are major features of the pluralist school. Finally, the realism-idealism debate will be related to the ‘id-ego-superego’ model of human psychology. Moreover, it will be suggested that the model developed in this thesis be referred to as normative-realism. In addition, as in earlier chapters of this thesis, the various theoretical assumptions made in this chapter will be highlighted with empirical examples and case studies.

This chapter will conclude that theoretical structuralism, pluralism, and realism/idealism represent different aspects of the psychoanalytic paradigm of international relations developed in this thesis. In addition, the conclusion to this chapter will summarise the

specific observations about the 'real' world of international politics that can be made from a psychoanalytic structural approach.

6.1.0. Structuralism in International Relations

This section will compare and contrast the psychoanalytical structural theory of international relations developed in this thesis to other structural theories in the field. First, the main premises of structuralism will be outlined, and secondly other structural approaches to international politics will be described. Finally, the main premises of psychoanalytic structuralism will be summarised.

Structural approaches to international relations explain the actions of actors and the consequence of social processes according to a particular structure which moulds and constrains the behaviour of individuals or states (Olson, 1991, p.224). Theoretical structuralism represents an holistic method of studying international politics,

“The main presumption of holism is that recurrent patterns of interaction among groups of all kinds-political, economic, social, cultural, professional, sporting or whatever-taken together shape and guide behaviour...The holists claim that patterns of social conduct are constantly being reproduced” (Stern, 1995, p.34).

In other words, according to a structural analysis of international relations a theoretical structure becomes a 'social fact', and therefore, structural theorists study forms of interaction amongst groups according to particular 'configurations and structures' (Stern, 1995, p.34; Olson, 1992, p.224).

6.1.1. Examples of Structural Theories

Economic structuralists propose that the processes of capitalist development condition international relationships. For example, Immanuel Wallerstein, a Marxist Structuralist, suggests that the modern world system of capitalism took root in fifteenth century Europe and expanded to form the contemporary capitalist world system. The growth of world capitalism, which according to Wallerstein has never been constrained by the boundaries of nation-states, has resulted in a division of the world into core states which have exploited the weak economies of peripheral states. Also, as capitalism expanded a group of semi-peripheral states emerged to make the 'capitalist world economy run smoothly' (Wallerstein, 1974, pp.401, 404, 413; Olson, 1992, pp.233, 237-238; Stern, 1995, p.256). Furthermore, Wallerstein suggests that the only solution for the ongoing struggle between the capitalist core and periphery is the revolutionary transformation of the world-economy into a socialist world system,

“Socialism involves the creation of a new kind of *world*-system, neither a redistributive world-empire nor a capitalist *world*-economy but a socialist world

government. I don't see this projection as being in the least utopian" (Wallerstein, 1974, p.415).

Therefore, Wallerstein's economic structuralism, like other idealists, implicitly assumes that human nature is ultimately perfectible: humankind is capable of reaching harmony and a peaceful future if it accepts the socialist prescription for a world community.

Political Structuralists, such as Waltz and Modelski, base their theories on political grounds (Stern, 1995, p.39). For example, Waltz's theory of structural realism, otherwise known as neo-realism, proposes that the anarchical nature of the international environment conditions the individual behaviour of states, which is characterised by self-help and a concern for individual survival (Waltz, 1979, pp.104-107)¹. Like Waltz's third image of war, neo-realism assumes a pessimistic view of man in that 'neo-realism sees conflict as inherent in the human condition, a constant factor flowing directly from the power-seeking essence of human nature and taking the political form of a continual reshuffling of power among the players in a zero-sum game'. (Cox, 1986, p.215).

Another political structuralist, George Modelski, suggests that the leadership of the global political system from 1500 C.E. up until the present has been characterised by recurring patterns, which he refers to as long cycles, of leadership. Each of these long political cycles moves through phases of 'general disorder' and 'intense political conflict such as *global war*, ' alternating with periods of global order which is established via the world leadership of a particular state² (Modelski, 1987, pp.23-25, 29-31). Like Waltz, Modelski's concern for governance in an anarchical system of states would seem to place his theory in the structural-realist tradition (Olson, 1992, pp.242-243).

Geopolitical Structuralists, such as Sir Halford Mackinder, emphasise the impact of geographical structures upon international politics. Mackinder stressed the importance of 'land power' (Olson, 1992, p.252), which he summarised as follows:

*"Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland:
Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island:
Who rules the World-Island commands the World"* (Mackinder, 1942, p.150)

In addition, Mackinder's geographical holism was accompanied by an appeal for a 'counterbalancing Realism' after a 'wave' of 'Idealism', which followed the First World War

¹ In effect, the logic of structural-realism, or neo-realism, elaborated in Waltz's book *Theory of International Politics* (1979), is an extension of his third image of war which was outlined in Chapter Five of this thesis.

² These lead states have included Portugal (sixteenth century), the Netherlands (seventeenth century), Britain (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and the United States (twentieth century) (Modelski, 1987, 220-223)

and led to the founding of the League of Nations. Mackinder believed that it was necessary to recognise 'certain tendencies of human nature as exhibited in all forms of political organization': in particular, Mackinder's idea of land power and inter-state domination was one of the 'realities' which he set out to describe in his book *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (Mackinder, 1962, pp.4, 27, 164, and 'Note to the 1942 Reissue', 1942). Moreover, as was noted in the last chapter, Hitler Germany took a special interest in Mackinder's 'land power' theories and geopolitical realism, and subsequently, adapted his thesis to a strategy for world conquest.

6.1.2. Psychoanalytic Structuralism

As with the other structural theories of international politics reviewed above, the psychoanalytic theory developed in this dissertation proposes that the social processes between state actors can be explained by an holistic theory. However, in contrast to the other structural theories cited above, the methodology used to construct the paradigm, which has been tested empirically in the preceding chapters, is based on a structural theory of human psychology.

This thesis has suggested that a particular pattern of socio-psychological interaction has recurred throughout history and within diverse cultures. The 'id-ego-superego' model and the associated postulates of 'ego' psychology were tested in numerous areas of international relations including war, state foreign policy, and the comparative studies of international societies. In addition, the 'id-ego-superego' map of human psychology may be used to classify theories of international relations, according to their view of human nature, from different cultures and historical periods.

The issue of historical change, evolution, and turbulence, i.e. disorder, has also been addressed in this thesis. According to the psychoanalytic 'order out of chaos' theory elaborated above, the psychological tension between social cohesion and collective 'egoism', i.e. self-centred behaviour, by states has characterised international societies throughout history. Specifically, it was argued in the previous chapters that states that isolate themselves from the institutions of social cohesion, for example the post-war Bretton Woods regimes, within international society represent 'social black holes'. Furthermore, according to this thesis the presence of these 'social black holes' places strain on the social cohesion arrangements between states: in fact, in cases of 'ancient', i.e. Pre-Westphalian, international societies, such as southern Mesopotamia, the rejection of centralised authority by the subject city-states led to the complete collapse of the empire.

In other historical situations, political turbulence has arisen within a group of states as one state challenges and revolts against the rules of social cohesion within a given social

grouping of states, which in turn, results in the evolution of new social arrangements and new groupings of states. For example, China's above-mentioned revolt against Soviet hegemony, which it has been argued corresponds to the social cohesion functions of the 'cultural superego' at the inter-state level-of-analysis, was a source of political stress and turbulence within the Soviet bloc. Accordingly, the case study in chapter five tried to show that China's collective 'egoism' within the Soviet enclave led to its eventual departure from the Soviet Communist bloc, and subsequently China started to recruit its own satellites within the Communist system, for example, Albania. Therefore, according to a psychoanalytic view of international politics, China evolved from being a 'social black hole' in the Soviet bloc to an aspiring hegemon within a grouping of states under its leadership. In this hegemonic position China established its own rules, norms, and values of social interaction, and according to the model proposed herein, the Chinese hegemon became a 'cultural superego' for those satellite states under its leadership. For instance, as described earlier, China elaborated its own formula for staging Communist revolution and for the development of a Communist society for its satellites to follow: according to this scheme the world was divided into three parts, "the camp of the true revolutionary followers of 'Mao Tse-Tung's thought'; the camp of imperialist reaction led by the USA; and the camp of 'revisionism' and 'social imperialism'...headed by Moscow" (Stern, 1990, p.188). However, states like Albania eventually rejected the Chinese path to Communism as well as China's authority over it. Consequently, Hoxha's Albania distanced itself from Chinese authority, and thus represented a 'social black hole' within this particular grouping of states. The description of the chain of events, starting with China's relation with Moscow, and ending with Tirana's relationship with China, would seem to demonstrate how the pattern of social interaction described by a psychoanalytic structural theory is 'reproduced' within international society.

Therefore, as in other forms of theoretical structuralism in international relations, psychoanalytic configurations of social behaviour, this author argues, 'reproduce' themselves at the inter-state level-of-analysis. Moreover, as was suggested in the analysis of the American Civil War, a psychoanalytic methodology can also be used to analyse relations of political groupings *vis-à-vis* the centralised authority of the state, i.e. within domestic society. This concept will be expanded in the segment of this chapter which deals with political pluralism and non-state actors: this analysis will attempt to show that the social patterns described in this dissertation can be detected, not only between states, but within states as well.

6.1.3. Psychoanalytic Structuralism: Comparisons and Contrasts

Although the theoretical assumptions of the model developed in this paper differ from the other forms of structuralism cited above, a comparison of Psychoanalytic Structuralism with these other structural theories reveals some common ground. For instance, Modelski's political theory discusses periods of political order alternating with phases of disorder within global political systems. Similarly, the psychoanalytic 'order out of chaos' theory developed herein, analyses the recurrence of political turbulence and the re-establishment of order within international societies. Nevertheless, the psychological methodology employed in this dissertation contrasts with the 'long cycles of world politics' elaborated by Modelski: for example, no attempt has been made in this thesis to quantify and compare the length of political cycles of order and political turbulence in inter-state relations. Nevertheless, this example demonstrates that different structural hypotheses can be used to analyse similar phenomena, i.e. political disorder versus order, in international relations.

In addition, three theoretical assumptions, in particular, developed in this thesis contrast with those proposed in other structural theories. First, Waltz's neo-realism assumes that the international system of states is characterised by homogenous anarchy. However, the observations and case studies examined in the previous chapter proposed that the mechanisms of authority within the external environment of states cannot be described entirely on the basis of anarchy: in particular groupings of states, such as a society of states under the leadership of a hegemonic power, political authority resembles the centralised type of leadership within states. Thus, according to the psychoanalytic methodology developed herein, the nature of political leadership within the international society of states is more complex than portrayed in Waltz's treatise.

Secondly, Waltz's assumption that the structure of the external environment between states is the prime factor which conditions their behaviour would seem to an oversimplification, according to the findings of this study. On the one hand, some of the case studies cited in this thesis coincide with Waltz's conclusion that the external environment is an important determinant of state actions. For example, in this thesis, it was noted that the state *apparatus* as a collective 'ego' reacts to threats from the external environment, and as a result resorts to psychological defence mechanisms to protect its 'ego' interests. On the other hand, as was also explained earlier, the model of 'ego' psychology also considers the distortions of external 'reality' which occur within the individual's 'mind'. Furthermore, it was argued that if the state *apparatus* is thought of as a collective 'ego', such internal distortions of reality are evident in state foreign policies, as well: for example, Kim Il Sung's North Korea and Enver Hoxha's Albania were cited as cases where state foreign policies seemed to have been influenced as much by an 'internal' distortion of external reality, which it was argued resembled

psychological delusions in individuals, as it was by the external environment of these states. Therefore, according to the postulates of this dissertation, the reactions and interactions of states are based on a complex interaction between the internal milieu of states and the external environment: in this respect, the psychological structure of state behaviour, proposed herein, departs from Waltz's neo-realism, which only considers the external environment of state actors as a determining factor of state behaviour.

Thirdly, in contrast to the observations of economic structuralists, such as Immanuel Wallerstein, who limit their analysis to capitalist 'core' and 'peripheral' states, the methodology developed in this thesis would seem to account for the fact that economic leverage and political coercion have also occurred between socialist states, as well as capitalist ones: for example, as was explained in previously, the Soviet Union used economic leverage against China by withdrawing its foreign aid and technical assistance in order to coerce China into conformity with the norms of the Communist bloc, but, when this failed other forms of social pressure were available to Moscow, such as the threat of force. Similarly, as was indicated earlier, 'capitalist' states, such as the United States, have employed economic means of coercion against recalcitrant states in its political sphere of influence. Therefore, according to the findings of this thesis, a theoretical model which limits itself to an analysis of economic coercion and political domination amongst capitalist states would seem to be avoiding similar behavioural patterns amongst socialist states.

6.2.0. Political Pluralism in International Relations

This section will briefly discuss the major tenets of the pluralist school of international politics, and then demonstrate how actors other than states can be included in the psychoanalytic model of group behaviour developed in this thesis.

The pluralist paradigm is based on the assumption that the world is 'highly complex'. According to political pluralists, such as James Rosenau, pluralism represents the world as a multi-centric, rather than a state-centric, network of relationships (Banks, 1985, p.16; Rosenau, 1982, pp.3-4). In other words, pluralist theory attempts to accommodate actors, other than 'states', which play an important rôle in world politics (Pettman, 1981, p.40).

Therefore, according to pluralist scholars, the rationale for including non-state actors in the study of international relations is that the state-centric model offers a too narrow picture of international politics. For example, Phillip Taylor, in his book *Nonstate Actors in International Politics* (1984, pp.5-6), discusses the shortcomings of the state-centric model, and offers the following reasons why non-state actors should be included in the study of international politics:

First, the state-centric model ignores the proliferation of international and regional organisations.

Secondly, most episodes of conflict after 1945 have involved nonstate actors, such as stateless groups (e.g. the Basques, the Kurds, and the PLO) and terrorist groups (e.g. the Irish Republican Army).

Thirdly, the state-centric paradigm fails to account for the political importance of stateless national groups ³.

Fourthly, the importance of economic integration and interdependence between nation-states, accompanied by the proliferation of multinational corporations, is largely ignored by the state-centric paradigm.

Fifthly, the state-centric paradigm does not appreciate the importance that nation-states have given international organisations.

Thus, in summary, the pluralist school “invests human groups with fundamental political import” (Pettman, 1981, p.41), and claims that the study of nation-states, in isolation, over-simplifies international relationships.

6.2.1. Political Pluralism: A Psychoanalytic Viewpoint

The following analysis will try to show how the theoretical structures developed in this dissertation pertain to the study of non-state actors in international politics. In the preceding analysis of psychoanalytic structuralism it was suggested that psychological concepts, such as ‘social black holes’, can also be used to analyse recurring patterns of political behaviour at the intra-state level-of-analysis: this section will attempt to test this proposition.

The objectives of the following analysis will be twofold. First, it will demonstrate, by means of case studies, how the ideas of ‘social black holes’ and ‘collective’ egoism can be used to analyse the relation of certain sub-national, i.e. domestic, groups, to state authority. Secondly, the final part will demonstrate how the model proposed in this thesis might explain the phenomena of transnational relations, i.e. relations which cross state borders without passing through state governments.

6.2.2. Non-State Actors as Social Black Holes

In Chapter Three, the anarchical relations in gang societies were elaborated. Furthermore, it was suggested that gangs represented ‘social black holes’ within the state *apparatus*’ social contract with civil society. In addition, it was proposed that the ‘egocentric’, i.e. self-centred, behaviour of other groupings within domestic society, such as the Mafia and some stateless

³ For purposes of this thesis, this term refers to national groups who do not possess formal legal sovereignty, i.e. supreme authority, over the population which comprises the group, and the territory in which this population resides.

national groups, were also examples of sub-national, i.e. intra-state, 'social black holes'. The following analysis will expand upon this theme, and will examine the actions of three different types of domestic groups in order to show how a psychoanalytic structural theory of international politics can be used to analyse the political behaviour of some non-state political actors:

First, the concepts of nationhood and 'ethnocentricity' will be considered, and then integrated with the theoretical hypotheses developed in this dissertation. Also, a case study of Somalian nationalism, and the subsequent dissolution of the Somali state will be outlined.

Secondly, the political behaviour of certain religious groupings which challenge state authority will be analysed. In particular, the activities of two groups in the United States, the Branch Davidian religious sect and the Freemen, a 'white-supremacist Christian Identity movement, will be highlighted.

Finally, the challenge of certain illicit economic groupings, such as the Mafia, to the state will be examined.

6.2.2.1. The Nation as a Psychological Group

Initially, this section will review Freud's idea of the nation as a psychological group. Secondly, the ideas of international relations theorists, such as Bloom and Purnell, who also portray the nation as a psychological grouping, will be discussed. Thirdly, Ken Booth's concept of 'ethnocentricity' will be compared to the above-mentioned idea of collective 'egocentricity'. Finally, the presence of nations, i.e. stateless national groups, within nation-states will be considered in the context of the psychological theory of group behaviour developed in this thesis.

As indicated previously, Freud incorporated the concept of nationality into his theory of group psychology. According to Freud, nationality represented only one of many different types of group identifications in human group psychology. In his essay *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, he observes that the 'ego-ideal' aspect of the individual's superego identifies with the abstract principles and norms of groups, such as nations: the individual becomes a part of collectivities, such as nations, through the respect and emotional bonds that develop for the ideals, i.e. common principles, of the group. In other words, Freud's theory of psychological identification describes the process by which social cohesion is generated and maintained within human groupings. In addition, Freud proposed that the psychological identification of group members with a set of 'group ideals' helped to develop mutual community interests and a feeling of comradeship, even in large groups, such as nations and religious associations, where individual members may not become personally acquainted with each other. Therefore, group participants become linked to other members, for example fellow

Christians, Communists, or Basques, through ties of psychological identification. Furthermore, according to Freud, group identities, such as nationality, take advantage of the psychological need for security. Accordingly, humans are inclined to become group members because their union with others within a group offers a feeling of combined strength: group identity provides a sense of superiority and invincibility for its members (Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1985b, 161-168; Snyder, 1954, p.103-104).

The idea of the nation as a psychological group also appears in the international relations literature. For example, William Blooms' analysis of national and nation-state identity, in his book *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations* (1993), is based on the psychological theory of identification⁴. According to Blooms' theory of nation-building,

“*National Identity* describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols-have internalised the symbols of the nation-so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of, these symbols of national identity...For national identity to exist, the people *en masse* must have gone through the actual psychological process of making that general identification with the nation” (Bloom, 1993, p.52).

In the remainder of his analysis, Bloom demonstrates how national identity facilitates the sentimental attachment and loyalty to the nation-state: according to Bloom, identification with national symbols such as national anthems and rituals act as a “‘glue’ of national solidarity and of collective national ‘conscience’”. Also, Bloom proposes that the ‘mass psychological attachment’ to the symbols of the nation-state are similar to the collective myths and rules of kinship which act as symbols of social cohesion within primitive tribal societies (Bloom, 1993, pp.129-133)⁵. Furthermore, Bloom demonstrates that, although the idea of a ‘nation-state’ commonly refers to states after the French Revolution, national identity also provided the psychological ‘glue’ for earlier nation-states: for instance, under the centralised monarchies in mediaeval England and France the ‘identification with the

⁴ Bloom outlines Freud's theory of identification in his book, and also describes the theories of socio-psychological identification elaborated by Mead, Erikson, Habermas, and Talcott Parsons. However, Bloom observes that Erikson, Talcott Parsons, and Habermas derived some of their ideas on the ‘mechanism of identification’ from Freud: for example, these theorists appropriated Freud's concept of the ‘superego’ as part of their theoretical structure (Bloom, 1993, pp.35, 40-41, 46-47).

⁵ Likewise, Freud's socio-political thought would support Blooms' observations. For example, as was indicated in Chapter Two, Freud connects his theory of group psychology and identification to the mechanisms of social authority within primitive tribal groupings, which Freud referred to as primal hordes (Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1985, pp.154-160). In addition, although he does not directly state this, Freud's above-mentioned writings on totems in primitive societies, which function as collective symbols of social cohesion, could, equally, apply to symbols of identification, such as flags, anthems, and historical myths of descent, within collectivities such as nation-states.

nation-state' gradually evolved between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries (Bloom, 1993, p.64)⁶.

Similarly, other international relations scholars, such as Robert Purnell, refer to the nation as a psychological collectivity, though he does not define any particular psychological methodology on which his conclusion is based,

"The nation is one of the most important psychological facts in human history...Essentially a nation comes into existence when a sufficient number of human beings believe that they comprise a nation. Such existence is decisively assured when a sufficient number of people outside the group are induced to accept that the nation exists... The reality of the nation is 'all in the mind'" (Purnell, 1973, pp.110-111).

In summary, Freud's theory of group identification, as well as the other above-mentioned international relations theories of the nation as a psychological group, propose that the nation is characterised by a collective consciousness, common symbols of group identification, and a sense of group solidarity. However, as will be demonstrated in the following Somalian case example, a psychoanalytic analysis of nation-building, in contrast to the Bloom's identification theory, will not only consider the social respect and emotional attachment for national symbols and values which corresponds to Freud's idea of the 'ego-ideal', but will also consider the coercive means by which social groups, such as nation-states, may attempt to maintain social cohesion and loyalty to the values and symbols of group identity.

6.2.2.2. Ethnocentric Groups

The previous section provided a psychoanalytical/psychological definition of national identity. However, these theories, including Freud's, do not highlight how groupings, such as nations-states relate to each other: in other words, these theories of national psychological groups stress intra-group identification rather than inter-group relations. In contrast, an international relations scholar, Ken Booth, in his book *Strategy and Ethnocentrism* (1979), analyses the 'inter-group' relations between collectivities that define themselves according to common cultural symbols: he refers to the self-centred behaviour of ethnic groups as 'ethnocentrism'. More specifically, Booth lists the following characteristics of 'ethnocentrism':

"Strong identification with one's group and its culture, the tendency to see one's own group as the centre of the universe, the tendency to perceive events in terms of one's

⁶ Bloom claims that the identification with the nation-state could be seen as a return to the 'implicit social contract' which existed between a chief and his tribe in 'primitive' communities (Bloom, 1993, p.64).

own interests, the tendency to prefer one's own way of life (culture) over all others (seeing it as involving the best and right ways of acting, with an associated bias against other groups and their ways of acting), and a general suspicion of foreigners, their modes of thought, action, and motives" (Booth, 1979, p.15).

In addition, Booth proposes that this concept can be used to describe the 'strategic' relations between nation-states⁷. Furthermore, he suggests that 'ethnocentrism' represents a 'cultural variant' of an universal socio-psychological phenomenon, which is the tendency for "societies to look at the world with their own group as the centre" (Booth, 1979, p.13).

Booth's analysis would seem to concur with many of the theoretical premises made in this thesis. His description of 'ethnocentrism' would appear to describe a 'cultural variant' of the more general concept of collective egocentricity: as defined in earlier chapters of this thesis. Furthermore, Booth implies that his idea of 'ethnocentricity' is a variation of the self-centred behaviour of groups, which corresponds to the definition of 'egocentricity' used in this dissertation. Accordingly, for purposes of the following analysis of Somalian nationalism the terms collective 'egocentrism' and 'ethnocentrism' will be used interchangeably.

6.2.2.3. Stateless Nations versus Nation-States

Thus far, the discussion of national identity has not raised the issue of stateless national groups. For example, Freud suggests that political groups are composed of numerous different types of sub-groupings, and that political entities such as empires and nation-states are formed through the union of other political units (Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1985b, p.161; *Why War?*, 1985e, p.353), but nowhere does he discuss the relationship between 'domestic' national groupings and nation-states.

Moreover, Bloom's above-mentioned analysis of nations as psychological groups focuses on nation-states. Nevertheless, he does observe that the identification with a given nation-state is 'never complete': he observes that on close inspection states exhibit 'disintegrative' tendencies where 'sub-nationalities' demand 'political self-determination'. Therefore, according to Bloom's analysis nation-states are an "existential, dynamic and changing socio-political organism" (Bloom, 1993, pp.62-63). However, despite these observations, Bloom's analysis concentrates on the integrative aspects of national identity within nation-states, rather than 'disintegrative tendencies' of 'sub-nationalities'.

Since many, if not all, nation-states contain other ethnic, i.e. sub-national, groups it would seem that an analysis of national identity must include sub-national groups as well as

⁷ Booth's 'strategic' analysis applies the psychological concept of 'ethnocentrism' to analyse the relations of nation-states, rather than examining the political behaviour of 'sub-national' groupings.

nation-states⁸. For instance, in Europe, multi-national states such as Belgium and Great Britain are comprised of other national groupings (Purnell, 1973, p.111). However, not all 'domestic' national groups challenge the collective rules, values, and symbols of nationhood on which nation-state identity is founded. For example, in Great Britain, the Cornish, of Cornwall, are a national group, which, according to Biscoe, represent a distinct 'ethnic' or 'national minority' in Britain,

“What matters to the Cornish is that their freedom to assert their identity is cherished, and not regarded as a fascinating addition to our picture of the past”⁹ (Biscoe, 1995, p.2).

Whereas, the people of Cornwall 'cherish' their national identity, this group, simultaneously identifies with, or at least does not challenge, the collective symbols and values of Great Britain, such as 'loyalty to the Crown': thus, although Cornish nationalist groups do exist, “it seems clear that the people of Kernow [i.e. Cornwall] are not ready nor are they anxious to become a country” (Ivey, 1995, p.8). Therefore, not all 'stateless' ethnic groups become estranged, i.e. alienated, from the nation-state in which they reside: for example, the Cornish and British identities would not seem to be mutually exclusive concepts.

Nonetheless, many other stateless national groups are not content to identify with the nation-state in which they reside. For example, the 'rebel republic of Chechnya', a group which identifies itself as a culturally distinct people, not only declared its independence as a separate sovereign nation-state after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, but also has been prepared to fight the Russian Goliath to ensure that its ambitions become a reality (*The Economist*, December 17th, 1994, p.13). Chechnya's rejection of its integration into the Russian state after the dissolution of the Soviet Union would seem to support the analysis of Seweryn Bialer, who warned, before the former Soviet Union disintegrated, that “the polarization of the Soviet peoples along ethnic lines is increasing faster than their identification with, and consciousness of, a new Soviet nationhood”, and that this phenomenon threatened to undermine the political stability of the Soviet nation-state (Bialer, 1980, pp.207-208).

Therefore, it would seem that a distinction ought to be made between stateless national groups, such as the Cornish, that continue to recognise and identify with, or at least do not

⁸ Moreover, other analysts, for example Yoshikazu Sakamoto, have suggested that the term “nation-state is nothing more than a state of the dominant national or ethnic group” (Sakamoto, 1994, p.6).

⁹ By the nineteenth century the Cornish language had been replaced by English as the common language of communication in Cornwall. However, in the twentieth century organisations were founded, such as the Cornish National Society, in 1922, and *Mebyon Kernow* (Sons of Cornwall), in 1951, by Cornish 'enthusiasts' to strengthen the Celtic cultural and linguistic foundations of the Cornish national identity and to revive the “Cornish national consciousness” (Breasláin, 1995, pp.4-5; Collins Concise English Dictionary, 1993, p.294).

challenge, the nation-state in which they reside, and those that attempt to separate themselves from a given state grouping, such as the Chechnya, and in most cases seek to establish their own internationally recognised nation-state¹⁰. According to the psychoanalytic methodology in this thesis, stateless national groups which challenge the institutions of social cohesion and norms and symbols of identification of the nation-state that they are politically associated with, represent 'social black holes' at the intra-state level-of-analysis. In other words, these ethnocentric/egocentric groups pursue their own group's perceived self-interest by isolating themselves from the national symbols, values, and norms of the nation-state which they are a part of.

The idea of sub-national ethnic groups who represent social black holes within a nation-state will be demonstrated in the following case study, which describes the collapse of the Somalian nation-state as it plunged into a state of anarchy, i.e. political chaos. In this particular case study the psychological identity of these sub-national egocentric/ethnocentric groups is based on the ideology of the Somalian clan-family.

6.2.2.4. Somalia: The Disintegration of a 'Nation-State'

This case study will be divided into three sections. First, the traditional form of Somali group identification, before the introduction of idea of the nation-state to Somalia, will be summarised. Secondly, the history of Pan-Somali nationalism and the evolution of the Somali nation-state, up until the Ogaden War in 1977, are discussed. Finally, the mounting challenge of clan groupings to the unity of Somalian nation-state, from 1978 until Somalia disappeared in the early 1990s, is examined within the context of the group psychology model outlined above.

The traditional political grouping in Somalia was based on the ideology of kinship,

"Political norms and cultural values linked up with economic structures by way of the ideology of kinship, thereby creating an interlinked web of social, economic and political institutions" (Lyons, 1995, p.8).

The 'ideology of kinship' in Somalia was founded on two main principles: blood ties and *heer*. First, blood ties are based on genealogical connections supported by a patrilineal system¹¹, which is established according to the principle of a 'real or invented' common

¹⁰ As Robert Purnell observes, in his book *The Society of States* (1973, p.115), most national groups want to establish their own sovereign state.

¹¹ Somali kinship and family organisation are based on a patrilineal system which traces an individual's blood relations from the paternal side. According to this system each child adopts his father's first name as his surname, and is also given a new first name. Therefore, patrilineal genealogy extends every time a son is born because he will pass his first name on to his children. Traditionally, young

ancestry. The Somalis are divided into three main clan families (the *Saab*, *Irir*, and *Darod*) and sub-families, which can be further broken down to several lineage segments; traditionally these various clan-families often occupied 'non-contiguous territories'. The Somalian family tree does not just describe the historical origins of each group, but also represents the traditional 'political affiliation of individuals and groups' (Lyons, 1995, p.8; Lewis, 1994, p.97). Moreover, as Lewis observes, Somali kinship identity and the clan-family group has provided an important source of individual security,

“For the weaker and less successful members of the Somali lineage, kinship is an indispensable source of protection and safety-readily manipulated by their stronger more ambitious clansmen for whom kinship is an elastic resource” (Lewis, 1994, p.vii).

The second component of kinship, *heer*, described an unwritten code of social conduct which constituted a basis of social order, and thereby facilitated Somali interdependence. Furthermore, the introduction of Islam to Somalia, in the eighth century, resulted in its incorporation into the traditional belief system of the nomadic Somali clan-families, and thereafter, Islamic beliefs helped to reinforce the fraternal feeling amongst ethnic Somalis (Lyons, 1995, p.10).

Thus, the Somali clan identity provided a foundation for social cohesion, political authority, and territorial residence for each grouping. Furthermore, the Somali clan system was characterised by a sense of group solidarity, the identification with a common set of values, and a strong sense of group consciousness and belonging, which correspond to the above-mentioned features of psychological group identification. Furthermore, Freud's observation that groups provide a feeling of security and strength for its members seems to be supported by Lewis' above-mentioned comments about Somali clans. Also, the paternal basis of authority in each of the clan-families and its sub-divisions resembles the strong father figure in Freud's above-mentioned 'original' tribal groupings.

6.2.2.4.1. A New Identity: The Somalian Nation-State

The Somali clan structure faced a challenge to its traditional base of authority when European colonists arrived in East Africa in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, the British signed agreements with 'major kin groups', in 1886, turning northern Somalia into a protectorate, and about the same time the French staked their claim over French Somaliland, which is now Djibouti. Shortly thereafter, in 1893 the Italians

children were taught to recite their full genealogy back to a common clan-family ancestor (Lewis, 1994, p.viii, 99).

established a colony in southern Somalia (Lyons, 1995, p.11). Nevertheless, the ‘fierce’ Somali clans did not take kindly to the European intrusion on their traditional way of life: for example, the British had to mobilise their first ‘air bombardment’ in Africa to suppress a rebellion led by a Somali chief, who the British named the ‘Mad Mullah’ (Lewis, 1993, p.3).

Following the increasing urbanisation of Somalia in the early twentieth century, and reflecting a feeling of resentment towards ‘alien rule,’ the first signs of a Somali nationalist movement began: in the south it took the form of clandestine meetings amongst a ‘new generation of Somalis’ employed and educated by the Italians, and in the Northern British protectorate nationalist sentiment led to the establishment of the ‘Somali National Society’. Also, in the 1920s, a Somali invented an alphabet and script for the Somali language, which was later promoted by the leaders of Somali nationalism as a great symbol of Somali achievement¹². Eventually, when the United Nations General Assembly voted that Somalia’s trusteeship should be terminated on July 1, 1960, foreign rule was brought to an end, and an independent Somali state was founded out of the former British and Italian administered areas (Lewis, 1980, pp.113-115;162-163).

Although the Somalis seemed to have shared a ‘mono-cultural’ nationhood in that they spoke the same language, were part of a nomadic herding culture, and were followers of Sunni Islam (Lewis, 1994, pp.221-222), the challenge after independence was to incorporate these values into a common nation-state identity. Traditionally, as explained above, the clan-family had constituted the primary political grouping and object of group allegiance. In effect, the Somalis had never lived together as united political unit (Lewis, 1994, p.221), and as a result,

“Before and after independence, nationalist politicians naturally sought to politicize this cultural legacy and transform it into effective, national, political cohesion” (Lewis, 1994, p.222).

When the democratically elected parliament fell into disarray, after President Shermarke was assassinated in October, 1969, a bloodless military coup, led by General Siyad Barre, took place on October 15th, 1969 (Lyons, 1995, pp.13-14). Under Siyad Barre’s leadership the process of trying to forge a national ‘Pan-Somali’ identity would begin in earnest: under the banner of ‘Scientific Socialism’, and assisted by the Ministry of Information, which was officially responsible for ‘Public Guidance,’ the new regime denounced ‘tribalism’ as a divisive social force, whereas Socialism was promoted as a unifying principle. Moreover, the government tried to avoid a confrontation with the Islamic factions

¹² Ironically, fifty years later, in 1972, Siyad Barre’s government adopted the Roman alphabet, rather than this indigenous script, for the national written language (Lewis, 1980, p.216).

of the population¹³, and as a result, the state media developed and promoted a new synthetic ideology from Islam and Somali socialism (Lewis, 1980, pp.208-209, 220).

Under Barre's regime, individuals who supported traditional lineage and clan organisations risked imprisonment; government 'civil servants' were "chosen for their ability" rather than their "traditional clan and lineage" affiliations; government sponsored demonstrations against 'tribalism' took place in 1971 in which effigies symbolising 'tribalism' and corruption were burnt and buried in the main cities; and terms which were associated with traditional kinship association, such as 'cousin, ' were replaced with the word 'comrade'. Therefore, unlike earlier Somalian nationalists who had tried to encourage a brotherhood of Somalis based on clan and lineage associations, Siyad Barre's regime tried to appeal to "co-operation and unity on the basis of an undifferentiated, nationalistic Somali identity, in which traditional divisions were to be annulled". In order to re-programme the Somali population several public propaganda techniques, which focused on a national cult¹⁴ centred on the Head of State, i.e. Siyad Barre, were used: for example, the President's pronouncements were circulated in blue and white manuals; poems, posters and songs of praise proclaimed allegiance to the 'Father' of the nation (i.e. Siyad Barre) and the 'Mother' which was the Revolution; and orientation centres were established in all established settlements so that the public could become acquainted with the 'holy trinity' of the Revolution: "*jaale* (i.e. Comrade) Markis (Marx), *jaale* Lenin, and *jaale* Siyad". Also, the regime tried to bolster the President's image as 'Father' of the nation by exploiting his, real or imaginary, blood ties to two Somalian heroes who were traditional symbols of pride in the 'Somali national consciousness'. Moreover, to ensure that these propaganda messages were taken seriously by the Somalian population the National Security Service employed coercion techniques, for example imprisonment, against dissenters (Lewis, 1980, pp.207-211, 224-225; Lewis, 1994, p.222).

At first the public indoctrination promoting the new Somalian national identity was mainly confined to the settled populations, and consequently, by the mid-1970s the 'nomadic majority' of the population remained relatively untouched: recognising this the government started to encourage the 'settlement (*digmo*)' in preference to pastoral nomadism as the "basic unit of association and identification". Furthermore, during the Somalian famine of 1974 relief camps, housing many rural nomads, were transformed into political 'orientation centers'. Following the famine, the government started to implement the policies of 'sedentarization of

¹³ Lewis observes that this move was necessary after the execution of ten Islamic sheikhs in 1975 who rejected the regime's view on the equality of women: this event raised "in an acute form the whole question of the Islamic identity of the Somali people" (Lewis, 1980, p.213).

¹⁴ This national cult was influenced by the Chinese, Soviet, North Korean, and Nasserite models (Lewis, 1980, p.210).

nomads and detribalization', with the Soviets providing transportation for the massive re-settlement scheme (Lewis, 1980, pp.214, 218):

"This sudden re-location of Somali population, involving up-rooting people from their traditional grazing areas and re-settling them amongst unrelated clans and lineages, where they were to change from nomadic herdsmen to sedentary cultivators or fishermen...was a bold and hazardous undertaking" (Lewis, 1980, p.218).

These radical changes to Somali society and the promotion of a Pan-Somali identity were, if briefly, reinforced when Somalia entered into the Ogaden War of 1977-78, over its irredentist claims to the Ogaden region of Ethiopia (Lewis, 1980, pp.231-235),

"Nationalist sentiments in the Republic, stimulated by an unforeseen degree of Somali literacy, had reached a climax...All interest focused on the progress of the war...All aspects of life in the Republic were affected" (Lewis, 1980, pp.236).

As a result of the public enthusiasm for the war President Siyad's public standing soared (Lewis, 1994, p.224).

This section has attempted to show how the symbols of Pan-Somali identification became superimposed over the traditional socio-psychological attachment to the clan-family. As explained above, the Somalian state *apparatus*, after the coup in 1969, tried to graft these new symbols of collective identity over the old tribal and lineage mores, as a method of absorbing these groupings into the Pan-Somalian collectivity. According to a psychoanalytical model of identification both the clan and national symbols/values/ norms represented alternative 'ego-ideals', i.e. group values, symbols, and norms which elicit the respect and emotional attachment of group members, for the Somali population. However, as explained above, the symbols of the Somalian nation-state made little psychological impact on the majority of the population, who were pastoralist nomads: this portion of the population remained devoted to the traditional clan affiliations. Furthermore, the Somalian state *apparatus* employed coercive means, i.e. the other aspect of 'superego' formation, against the nomads, as well any other dissenters who espoused traditional 'tribal' values, to reinforce the new Somalian identity. The ongoing competition between these two psychological identities is epitomised in Siyad Barre's following comment,

"Tribalism and nationalism cannot go hand in hand...It is unfortunate that this nation is too clannish; if all Somalis are to go to Hell tribalism will be their vehicle to reach there" (Lewis, 1980, p.222).

However, as explained above, the underlying contradictions between clan and the nation-state identities experienced a brief reprieve during the Ogaden War. Furthermore, the fact that the Somali nation-state became more socially cohesive during this period would seem to provide further support for an idea developed in the last chapter of this thesis: the displacement of tensions within a psychological grouping to an external scapegoat may serve to strengthen a group's internal base of social cohesion.

6.2.2.4.2. The Beginning of the End: Black Holes and Anarchy

From the end of the Ogaden War until the Somali state collapsed in the early 1990s, the country experienced increasing resistance to Siyad Barre's government and a concomitant rise of clan loyalties. The internal social order and cohesiveness which had prevailed throughout the Ogaden War, gradually deteriorated as the country descended into a state of chaos: groupings based on clan-identity emerged within the Somali nation-state challenging Siyad Barre's regime and the idea of a united Pan-Somali identity. As Anna Simons, in her book *Networks of Dissolution: Somalia Undone*, observes,

“We can now see what undid Somalia: regroupment...All that is evident now is that functioning state and functional nation were never coexistent for long enough (despite moments of political optimism and promise in the pre-Independence 1950s, democratic early 1960s, and benevolently ruled early 1970s)” (Simons, 1995, p.189).

Thus, the political unity of the Somali nation-state, which had prevailed during the Ogaden War, started to unravel after Somalia was defeated and repulsed from the Ogaden by Ethiopia, with the assistance of the Soviets and Cubans. Somalia's defeat led to “widespread public demoralization and to an upsurge of “tribalism” (i.e. clan loyalties), as different groups sought scapegoats to explain the debacle” (Lewis, 1994, p.224).

The political fallout from the Ogaden War marked the beginning of a protracted phase of political turbulence in Somalian politics.

The ‘regrouping’ of Somalia's politics started after a failed coup attempt by the Majeerteen clan to unseat Siyad Barre's regime: afterwards, the Majeerteen “regrouped, forming the Somali Democratic Front (SSDF)” (Lewis, 1994, p.224). Moreover, in the early 1980s a group from the northern Isaq clan established the Somali National Movement (SNM), and both the SNM and SSDF based their resistance operations against the Somalian government in Ethiopia. After the Ethiopian government, in 1988, signed an agreement with Somalia to close the military bases of these two clan militias, the SNM decided to initiate an offensive battle for control of northern territories, mainly inhabited by the Isaq clan. After the SNM successfully seized the key northern towns of Burao and Hargeysa, in 1989, a protracted civil war began. Subsequently, as the Somalian state started to disintegrate ‘chaos and interclan fighting’ spread to the south: other clan militias, such as the Somali Patriotic Movement, which represented the Ogaden lineage group, and the Hawiye led United Somali Congress directed by Mohammed Farah Aideed, entered the fighting, shortly thereafter. In response to these clan militias, the government tried to gain control by resorting to measures such as communal punishment: for example, Ogaden and Hawiye clan members were killed in reprisal for their support of rebel movements (Lyons, 1995, pp.18-24; Africa Watch, 1990, p.2).

As the country fell into anarchy, and after the government collapsed, in January, 1991, Somalia disintegrated, and consequently, “nearly all facets of Somali political life became divided along clan lines”. Following the fall of his government, Siyad Barre fled the capital to find sanctuary with his own clan-family¹⁵, the Marehan, in the south, and set out to combine his armed forces with the Marehan based Somali National Front (SNF) in an attempt to regain control of the capital. Subsequently, in the former capital, Mogadishu, “clan-cleansing” campaigns were carried out by the Hawiye clan against the remaining members of Siyad Barre’s clan (Lyons, 1995, pp.18-24; Lewis, 1993, p.6). In effect, after the ‘balkanisation’ of the Somali nation-state, Lewis claims that,

“The political geography of the Somali hinterland in 1992, consequently, closely resembled that reported by European explorers in the 19th century, with spears replaced by Kalashnikovs and bazookas” (Lewis, 1994, pp.231-232).

The foregoing analysis describing the *denouement* of Somalia as a political grouping seems to exemplify the order out of chaos theory elaborated in this dissertation.

It was explained earlier that ‘egocentric’, i.e. self-centred and self-interested, group-actors which isolate themselves from the institutions of social cohesion within a given social grouping, such as the state, represented social black holes. Similarly, in this case study the various ‘ethnocentric’ clan groupings, which rejected identification with the Somalian nation-state led by Siyad Barre’s regime, would seem to illustrate the concept of social black holes within the Somali state: as political ‘regroupment’ gathered pace and as the psychological identification of most Somalis became centred on the traditional clan unit, the state *apparatus* was left hovering over the empty shell of what once was a fragile nation-state collectivity, formally known as the Somalian Republic. Moreover, as the social respect and collective sentiment of solidarity for the symbols, norms, and values, otherwise referred to as the ‘ego-ideal’ in this thesis, of the Somalian nation-state, faded after the Ogaden defeat, the Somalian state *apparatus* resorted to more coercive means to re-gain social cohesion, such as communal punishment. However, these measures only served to aggravate the domestic clan violence, and as the state dissolved “the Somali people suffered the horrible brutality of living in an Hobbesian world without laws or institutions to regulate relations among groups” (Lyons, 1995, p.7): this final state of affairs in Somalia would seem to typify the ‘id’, i.e. chaotic, extreme of the Freudian psychological map. Furthermore, according to the model of

¹⁵ Although Siyad Barre’s regime set out in the early 1970s to build ‘Scientific Socialism’ and a ‘Pan-Somali’ identity in the new Somalian nation-state, the ‘core’ power structure in his government became increasingly concentrated in the hands of the three main clans comprising his own family (Lewis, 1993, footnote 10, p.4).

group behaviour outlined in this thesis, it would appear that the Somalian nation-state was consumed by the social black holes which emerged within it, and consequently, it passed into history as a failed idea in the minds of men.

In the end, no one, including 'Operation Restore Hope', could 'put Humpty Dumpty back together again' (Simons, 1995, p.202).

6.2.2.5. Religious Groups

Religious groupings were also included in Freud's analysis of psychological groups. For example, in *Group Psychology and Analysis of the Ego*, he compared the leadership principles within the Catholic Church and army groups,

"In a Church (and we may with advantage take the Catholic Church as a type) as well as in the army, however different the two may be in other respects, the same illusion holds good of there being a head-in the Catholic Church Christ, in an army its Commander in Chief...He stands to the individual members of the group of believers in the relation of a kind of elder brother; he is their father substitute" (Freud, 1985b, p.123).

Furthermore, Freud asserted that, it is not only the respect and emotional ties for religious abstractions, such as Christ as a leader, which facilitates social cohesion with religious groups, but, also "any attempt at leaving it [i.e. the group] is met with persecution or with severe punishment (Freud, 1985b, p.123). In other words, according to Freud's analysis of group psychology the socio-psychological mechanisms which facilitate group solidarity and cohesion with religious groups, i.e. respect for a common set of norms and symbols as well as punitive sanctions, are similar to other psychological groups, such as armies and national groupings.

Although Freud analysed the mechanisms of social cohesion within religious groups, as was the case with Freud's brief discussion of nationhood, he did not discuss the issue of inter-group identification, and more specifically, the relation between religious groups and the state.

For the most part, it would seem that most religious groups identify with the social contract of a given state and do not resist state authority. For example, Michael Barkun makes a similar conclusion, in his essay *Reflections after Waco: Millenialists and the State*, when he observes that most newly established religious groups in America have operated within "an implied social contract, " and that the "religion-state conflict, " which has recently emerged in America, has not been typical of America's historical past (Barkun, 1994, p.46). Nonetheless, there are obvious exceptions: for instance, the Iranian Revolution, which toppled the Shah of Iran's regime, in January, 1979, was led by the 'Shia Moslem clergy', and led to the establishment of a state whose identity is based on the Shia Islam religious doctrine (Palmer, 1990, p.211). Additionally, as will be demonstrated in the following case study, other religious

groups, such as the Branch Davidians and the Freemen in the United States, attempt to isolate themselves from state authority: therefore, these case studies will try to illustrate how certain religious groups represent social black holes within states.

6.2.2.5.1. The Branch Davidians

The origins of the Branch Davidians can be traced back to a group led by Victor Houteff, who severed ties with the Seven-Day-Adventist Church, and established a communal congregation outside of Waco, Texas, in Mount Carmel, in the mid-1930s. Houteff combined his teachings, called the "*Shepherd's Rod*", with an authoritarian form of leadership. His teachings professed that the 'end of the age' was near and that the group would live at their Waco residence for less than a year before they would establish God's Kingdom in Palestine. After the Davidians moved to Texas, Houteff proceeded to separate the group "physically from Waco and psychologically from the mainstream of American life". When the end did not come to pass, and after Houteff died in 1955, several splinter groups emerged (Pitts, 1994, pp.34-35).

Eventually, in 1987, Vernon Howell, who later became David Koresh, after a gunfight with the previous leader of the splinter group The Branch Davidians, took control of the Mount Carmel community. Howell assumed the name David, which implied a 'renewal of the Israelite Kingdom', and Koresh, implying that he was like 'Cyrus' who overthrew the Babylonians and permitted the Jews to return home. Koresh radicalised the original Davidian teachings, and adopted an apocalyptic philosophy which portrayed the American federal government as the Branch Davidians' arch-enemy: he instructed his followers to secure their compound and arm themselves for an inevitable battle with the United States Government. According to Koresh's prophecies, the armed struggle with the American enemy would be a fulfilment of his teachings (Pitts, 1994, pp.36-37). Koresh combined his apocalyptic religious teachings with a totalitarian form of leadership: in his rôle as leader, prophet, and messiah he controlled all aspects of his followers daily lives, their belief system, and their world-view . Finally, after the Federal Bureau of Investigation tried to search the Branch Davidians' compound for illegal possession of firearms, and after they continued to resist the FBI agents' attempts to enter their compound, the FBI started to apply external pressure: the FBI's threat of forced intervention ended in gun battles on February 28 and April 19, 1993. The final battle caused an inferno which killed most of the group, including Koresh (Barkun, 1994, p.44; Wessinger, 1994, p.59-60).

According to the group psychology model proposed above, the Mount Carmel Davidian community represented a religious psychological group whose leaders maintained collective solidarity by inculcating a set of religious beliefs contained in the '*Shepherd's Rod*', which their 'prophet' leaders claimed to be a divine message from God: moreover, the social

respect and cohesion facilitated by their prophet's teachings corresponds to the concept of the 'ego-ideal'. Moreover, it would appear that coercive forms of social cohesion were also part of the Davidian's and Branch Davidian's socialisation process, as evidenced by the group's authoritarian form of leadership.

In addition, the Branch Davidian group would seem to be another example of an 'egocentric' group that isolates itself from prevailing normative system within a state, and thus acts as a social black hole within the social contract of the state with its members. From the group's inception, Houteff's Davidians showed signs of collective 'egocentricity', which was exemplified by their anti-social views towards the outside 'American' world and their belief that they possessed an exclusive mission of world salvation. Furthermore, Houteff's attempt to isolate the group psychologically from the norms and values of 'America' conforms to the definition of a group representing a social black hole. Moreover, Koresh's radical philosophy intensified the Davidian's isolationist psychology by including violence as a means of resisting the 'enemy' threat from the American government. Finally, the FBI's resort to coercive tactics failed to achieve the group's compliance with American laws: on the contrary, this external threat would seem to have confirmed Koresh's catastrophic predictions, and therefore, might have reinforced the group's internal cohesion as its members faced a common enemy, thereby providing the Branch Davidians with an external scapegoat.

6.2.2.5.2. The Freeman

In early 1996, an anti-government group called the Freeman entered into armed confrontation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Jordan, Montana, U.S.A. This group's identity is based on a combination of religious and racist beliefs,

"The Freeman ascribe to the white-supremacist Christian Identity Movement, which holds that white people from northern Europe are God's chosen, while Jews are the offspring of Satan and blacks are subhuman "mud people" (Associated Press, April 29, 1996d, p.A2).

This religious 'fringe' group's doctrine is similar to other Christian Identity groups in America which number between 20, 000 and 50, 000 members (Barkun, 1994, p.47).

This particular group of twenty Freeman transformed a ranch, which they call Justus Township, into a barricaded and armed fortress on March 25, 1996, after federal agents arrested two of their leaders (Associated Press, April 3, 1996e, p.A2). Subsequently, they declared that 'Justus Township' was an independent 'republic' on the basis that,

"Freemen are NOT a party to the de facto corporate prostitute, a/k/a the United States...but in FACT the Posterity of We The People under God affirming the Law of the land and standing for the republic for which it stands" (Associated Press, April 9, 1996a, p.A1).

As part of their claim to political autonomy from the United States the group refuses to recognise the jurisdiction of the American courts, on the basis that they have established their own laws and court system. Also, as an indication of the group's hostility towards the symbols of the American nation-state the group flew the American flag 'upside-down' and simultaneously displayed a 'Confederate battle flag' in 'Justus Township' (Associated Press, March 31, 1996c, A12; April 2, 1996f, p.A2; June 14, 1996b, B10). After the FBI eventually broke into the Freeman's garrison, in June, 1996, following an eighty-one day stand-off, this group's revolt against the American nation-state was brought to an end,

“As two vans...carrying the Freeman left the compound, an FBI agent in a vehicle that followed leaned out his window and waved a U.S. flag-a seeming gesture of triumph that the longest armed siege in modern U.S. history had come to a peaceful conclusion” (Associated Press, June 14, 1996b, B10).

Therefore, in summary, the Freeman combine religious and ethnic/racist values as the basis for their group's identity. They also exhibit the anti-social behaviour and sense of group exclusivity demonstrated by the other domestic non-state actors cited in this section. In addition, their 'anti-social' behaviour is accompanied by an ethnic xenophobia which characterises Booth's definition of ethnocentricity. Finally, the Freeman's declaration of independence from the American state and rejection of its laws, exemplifies the idea of a 'social black hole' within the state's system of rules and norms. However, the Freeman's refusal to identify with the norms, symbols, and laws of the American state were counteracted by the FBI's interventions: accordingly, the waving of an American flag by a FBI agent in a 'gesture of triumph' after the 'armed siege' was over would seem to symbolise the victory of one group identity, i.e. America's, over another, i.e. the rebels' collective identity.

6.2.2.6. Organised Criminal Groups

In Chapter Three, the challenge of American 'gang' societies to the norms and legal authority of the state were discussed. It was observed that the relations between gangs are very similar to that between state collectivities, and it was concluded that, since these groups tried to isolate themselves from the social structure of the state, they represented social black holes. In addition, different gang identities were discussed: while some gangs identified with ideas of ethnic background and nationhood, it was noted that in the late twentieth century the identities of American gangs are, increasingly, based on economic self-interest. Many of the so-called 'economic' gangs have established sophisticated networks of marketing, communication, and distribution which evade state detection. For example, in America the organisation of many gangs resembles companies,

“Gangland...has “gone corporate”. In the 1980s the emergence of crack cocaine...spurred gangs to turn themselves from loosely organised groups into highly structured, brutally efficient businesses. As cash began to flow, drug territory became more valuable, and hence more worth killing for” (*The Economist*, December 17th, 1994, p.19).

Similarly, in other countries, such as Russia, the challenge of criminal ‘gangs’, which are referred to as the ‘Mafia’ or organised crime, to state authority has become apparent. For example, in 1995 the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, warned that organised crime, “discredits state authority and threatens state security in Russia”. The *raison d’être* for these Russian groups is economically based: they are involved in such activities as robbery and smuggling (Boulton, 1994, p.3; Freeland, 1995, p.4). Furthermore, ‘criminal’ groups, like the Mafia, utilise coercive means of authority, in parallel to the machinery of the state, to maintain internal conformity with group rules. For instance, Susan Strange in *States and Markets* observes that,

“Structural power, derived in part from ideas, in part from coercive force...is not confined to states...For example, the Mafia has used threats of violence-and violence itself-to ensure obedience within its ranks” (Strange, 1988, p.33).

The level of internal organisation of some of these groups, for example the cocaine cartels which operate the cocaine industry in the Andean countries of South America, has provided them with sufficient “economic, political, and military clout” so that they are capable of “sometimes challenging the authority of governments” and “sometimes performing quasi-governmental functions in regions where the authority of the state is weak or non-existent” (Lee, 1991, p.236). Moreover, in his article “*The Drug “super-state” in Latin America*,” Payne suggests that the Latin American drug industry constitutes a self-contained state:

“The “super-state”, centred in Colombia, radiates throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Its foreign policy instruments, like those of any other state, include force, economic leverage, and most recently, propaganda and diplomacy...This is an organization with the combined economic, political, and military powers of a state that is now acting like a state and asking to be treated like a state...More importantly, Cuba is apparently the first nation to give de facto recognition to the drug state” (Payne, 1989, pp.7-10).

Therefore, powerful groups, such as the Mafia and drug cartels, are not only able to challenge state authority domestically, but, according to Payne’s analysis are also capable of encroaching on the diplomatic sphere of inter-state relations.

All of the above-mentioned non-state ‘criminal’ groups share a common socio-psychological identification with a system of values which promotes economic self-interest via illicit means, for example, economic transactions which elude the state *apparat’s* legal jurisdiction and authority. Furthermore, the collective egocentricity of these groups is exemplified by their (economic) self-interested and anti-social behaviour. Thus, according to

this thesis, non-state groups, which are variously described as criminal groups, drug cartels, the Mafia, 'economic' gangs, and organised crime, who isolate and resist the authority of the state, and whose fundamental identification is with a system of values centred around illicit economic gain, are examples of economic black holes.

6.2.2.7. Summary

This section has tried to demonstrate how the psychoanalytic order out of chaos theory of international politics, outlined in chapter three, can be used to analyse political relations at the intra-state level-of-analysis. In the case studies cited above, the model of group psychology and group identification elaborated in this dissertation was used to explain collective solidarity and social cohesion within nation-states, as well as stateless national, religious and economic groups. Furthermore, these examples have attempted to show how non-state groups of various identities can become social black holes within states, which in turn can be a source of political turbulence, i.e. disorder. In the case of Somalia the level of political and social chaos reached crisis proportions leading to the disintegration of the state, whereas, in contrast, the immediate threat posed by a small group, such as the Freemen, to the American state would seem to be minimal. However, although the threat posed by small groups, such as the Freemen and the Branch Davidians, to a large state like America is containable, analysts such as Richard Barkun warn "that in an era of religious ferment and millennial excitement, the problems posed by the Branch Davidians can only multiply" (Barkun, 1994, p.49). Also, President Yeltsin's above-mentioned comment underscores the threat that organised criminal groups present to the political and social order within states such as Russia. Therefore, according to the preceding analysis, it would appear that the idea of a social black hole within the social fabric of the state describes a de-stabilising phenomena in world politics.

6.2.3. Economic Integration and Transnational Relations

The preceding analysis demonstrated how psychoanalytic theory might explain the presence of non-state actors who isolate themselves from, and in some cases enter into conflict with the authority of the state. The following analysis of political pluralism and non-state actors, will attempt to show how the concepts developed in this thesis can be used to analyse transnational relations in world politics. In particular, this case study will focus on the liberalisation of economic relations between states, and the associated proliferation of such transnational phenomena as globalised financial markets.

It was explained previously that the Bretton Woods Institutions, i.e. the IMF, IBRD, and the GATT, were established after the Second World War as a way of preventing the global

economic chaos which characterised the 1930s. It was concluded that the liberal economic principles, norms, and rules represented by the Bretton economic regimes, which are designed to facilitate co-operation between states, could be conceptualised as a cultural 'superego' at the inter-state level-of-analysis. In a similar way that Freud imagined that a common set of social principles, which he referred to as the 'cultural superego', facilitated mutual co-operation and solidarity between individual members of a group, it was argued that the Bretton Woods regimes have influenced state foreign policies so that a group of Western nation-states have attempted to co-operate with, and harmonise their economic relations according to, a common set of norms and rules.

Furthermore, as was explained above, Freud proposed that when a group of individuals identifies with a common set of group 'ideals', i.e. values, norms, and rules, they develop a sense of community, as evidenced by their "obligations for giving mutual help and for sharing possessions which comradeship implies" (Freud, 1985b, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, p.167; *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 1985a, p.336). In other words, when a group of individuals psychologically identify with a common set of social principles they become integrated into a group, which in turn, facilitates mutual interdependence and co-operation between them. Similarly, as was observed in previously, the acceptance by a group of nation-states of a common set of institutionalised economic rules was intended to increase economic interdependence and co-operation between states. Furthermore, analogous to Freud's above-mentioned definition of group solidarity, ¹⁶ interdependence, as defined by Geoffrey Goodwin, in international relations infers that states develop "a widely shared sense of belonging to an incipient world community and a high degree of mutual responsiveness between the state members of that community" (Goodwin, 1976, p.26).

Evidence of state interdependence is provided by analysts such as Phillip Taylor: his above-mentioned analysis indicates that economic integration has resulted in economic interdependence between states, as witnessed by the proliferation of transnational relations between Multinational Corporations. A similar observation is made by Gerald Ruggie in a recent article,

"One of the core premises of the post-war economic regimes was that international economic transactions are conducted at arm's length between distinct and disjoint national economies...The most significant changes exhibited by international financial markets are their growth, diversification and integration across national economies, beyond even the wildest expectations of policy-makers when they first decided to unleash them" (Ruggie, 1995, p.517).

¹⁶ This is not meant to imply that Goodwin's definition of state interdependence is in any way influenced by Freud's ideas.

In other words, this example of the rapid globalisation of financial markets across state borders seems to support the idea of economic interdependence between states, which, according to Ruggie, has evolved much further than could have been anticipated when the Bretton Woods institutions were first established: for example, these complex financial networks do not correspond with the idea of self-contained national economies. In addition, according to a recent analysis by Thomas Risse-Kappen, if inter-state relationships are increasingly regulated by way of co-operative agreements and regimes, then 'transnational activities' will continue to thrive (Risse-Kappen, 1995, pp.30, 285). Therefore, it would appear that for a group of states, like a group of individuals, the identification and co-operation with a common normative system increases the interdependence, i.e. responsiveness and mutual solidarity, amongst the members of the group: in the case of relations between states, this interdependence manifests itself as complex networks of transnational interaction.

However, as explained before, the presence of a common set of norms does not ensure that some group members, either individuals or states, will not resort to 'egocentric', i.e. self centred and self-interested, behaviour. For example, the collective 'egoism' of some states has meant that they have resorted to self-interested economic policies, despite the presence of economic regimes to regulate relationships between them. Although the 'egocentric' actions of certain states, who try to protect their perceived economic interests¹⁷ by isolating themselves from the international economy and the system of norms which regulates international economic transactions, has not resulted in the type of economic chaos witnessed in the 1930s, it has been argued that these 'social black holes' are a potential source of disorder within the world's economic system. An extreme example of this type of economic disorder would be represented by an hypothetical situation where a group of states resorted to absolute economic autarchy, i.e. total de-linking from the international economy, thereby, terminating any co-operative arrangements between them: in effect this extreme case scenario resembles Hedley Bulls' above-mentioned system of self-contained states, as outlined earlier, where relations between them are only conducted in an 'haphazard' way. Furthermore, as Stephen Krasner observes, if states elected to be totally autarchic this would presumably eliminate transnational actors and relations (Krasner, 1995, p.258). Nevertheless, in the 'real' world of international politics it seems unlikely that a system of economically autarchic states will materialise, one cannot rule out the recurrence forms of economic protectionism in international society, because,

“If governments find their array of policy tools, including the relatively benign option of ‘new protectionism’, no longer suffices to achieve their objectives, there is no telling what measures they might turn in exasperation” (Ruggie, 1995, p.521).

It is clear that ‘egocentric’ forms of behaviour, such as economic protectionism, are a sporadic and recurring phenomena in international society. Accordingly, a psychoanalytic ‘order out of chaos’ approach to interdependence and transnational relations envisages a dynamic model where social cohesion is superimposed on recurring patterns of self-interested and anti-social behaviour on the part of states. In the next section this model is illustrated by referring to a more detailed version of Charles Manning’s ‘lily-pond’ analogy.

6.2.3.1. Manning’s Lily-Pond Analogy: From An Order-Out-of-Chaos Perspective

The foregoing analysis has tried to demonstrate that the interdependence, mutual co-operation, and transnational linkages between states, co-exists with ‘egocentric’ forms of behaviour, which may manifest itself as isolation from international society, and conceivably the elimination of transnational ties between them. As noted in earlier chapters, this tension between social altruism and individual egoism exemplifies a psychoanalytic order out of chaos approach to international politics. A simple analogy which might help to visualise this model, as it relates to transnational relations and interdependence, would be Charles Manning’s reference, in his book *The Nature of International Society*, to the state as ‘water-lily pond’: he imagines the system of sovereign states to be like a series of separate lily ponds, and that the water-lilies on top, which presumably represent the state *apparatus*, receive nourishment from the pond below, which appears to describe the relation of the institutions of the state to the individuals and groups within domestic society (Manning, 1975, p.34). Therefore, comparable to separate ‘ponds’, Manning imagines that state actors are self-contained and autonomous, i.e. sovereign, entities. Michael Banks takes this analogy one step further, in that he proposes that the ponds are “sovereign in a sense” yet, are “perhaps directly linked through, say, water seepage, to others” (Banks, 1973, p.194). Thus, Banks implies that Manning’s series of lily ponds, representing states, are linked by ‘seepage’ networks, which, this author assumes, refers to a web of transnational and interdependent relations between states, an idea which resembles Burton’s ‘cobweb’ model of *World Society*’ (Burton, 1972, pp.35-45).

The paradigm proposed in this dissertation assumes that the state of affairs in international politics is in a constant state of flux between Manning’s self-contained system and

¹⁷ The word ‘perceived’ is included here because, as indicated in Chapter Four, states may implement policies of apparent advantage to themselves, only to reverse them again in the future. For example, this appears to have been the case with Tanzania’s economic policies in the late 1970s.

Banks' inter-linked world society. Accordingly, this model would imagine that Manning's 'lily' ponds are equipped with numerous automatic locks which are able to actively control the degree of 'seepage' to the other ponds: in other words, this depiction of international society would be characterised by periods of co-ordinated action whereby the locks between ponds are simultaneously opened, i.e. states agree to abide by common rules and norms, and other periods in which some 'egocentric' states sporadically and unpredictably snap the locks closed, i.e. isolate themselves from international society¹⁸. Also, the lilies floating on the top of the pond would represent the state *apparatus*, which functions as a collective 'ego' interacting with the external world. Above the level of the water-lilies, in the external environment, there would be an enclosed greenhouse that regulates and co-ordinates the lighting for all the ponds: this external system would represent a system of international regimes which regulates and co-ordinates the relationships between a group of state governments, and by so doing sets up a structure of mutual interdependence. Finally, the individual ponds would contain sealed pockets which are isolated from the surrounding pond itself: these pockets would represent social black holes, for example a stateless national group such as Chechyna, within the state collectivity. Manning's lily-pond would also have to take into consideration hidden leaks between the ponds which cannot not be easily controlled: in other words, as mentioned above, the illicit transactions of some 'egocentric' non-state actors, such as the Mafia and other criminal 'gangs', are often conducted across state borders without being detected, because these groups organise their activities so as to evade the authority of the state. Therefore, this version of Manning's 'lily-pond, ' like the model constructed in this thesis, describes a dynamic and changing structure.

6.3.0. Psychoanalytic Theory and Political Realism

The preceding section focused on political pluralism, which forms one component of the Inter-Paradigm debate in International Relations. The following analysis will review how the third aspect of this debate, political realism versus idealism, relates to the psychoanalytical paradigm proposed in this dissertation. First, the basic premises of the Idealist and Realist schools of thought, as well as Ken Booth's 'Utopian Realism', which combines features of both realism and idealism, will be summarised. The second part, will suggest that the psychoanalytic structural theory constructed in this thesis represents a 'Normative-Realist'

¹⁸ The extreme scenario where all the locks are closed would represent a system of egocentric states which have haphazard and irregular interactions with one another, whereas, an opposite 'extreme' condition would be represented by the opening of all the locks between all the ponds, which would represent a 'world society' characterised by a high degree of interdependence and transnational linkages between states, a world in which all states agreed to co-operate with a system of norms and rules which regulated and stabilised all aspects of their mutual interactions.

theory of international relations, in so far as it incorporates features of realism, as well as idealism. Also, the assumptions of this theory will be contrasted with Booth's 'Utopian Realism'. Finally, a case study examining on the theory of state sovereignty will demonstrate how 'Normative-Realism' would characterise the political 'independence' of states in international society.

In the first half of the twentieth century the major debate in the academic field of International Relations was between political realism and idealism, "reaching a peak with Carr's masterly critique of idealism in 1939" (Banks, 1985, p.10). Both these traditions of thought have focused on the analysis of relations between states, which, analysts, such as Michael Banks, refers to as a state-centric perspective (Banks, 1985, pp.14).

As explained in the first chapter of this thesis, traditional realists such as Machiavelli and Hobbes, and twentieth century realists, such as Niebuhr, imagine that the world of 'sovereign' states is amoral, and thus, relations between states are dictated by power and coercion,

"The realist school of thought in international relations has held that in the last resort military power and the ability to use coercive force to compel the compliance of others must always prevail" (Strange, 1988, pp.31-32).

Moreover, this school of thought contests that the "instruments of coercion and violence are essentially under the control of national governments and that the authority of the nation-state remains supreme" (Rosenau, 1976, p.5). Furthermore, in an Hobbesian state of nature characterised by anarchy, i.e. no government, 'normative thinking' and 'international morality' are out of place (Hoffman, 1985, p.31): consequently, "Words like *harmony* and *co-operation* do not come easily to realist lips" (Garnett, 1992, p.66).

In contrast, traditional idealists, such as Kant, and twentieth century idealists such as Woodrow Wilson, whose works were described in chapter one, are often referred to as cosmopolitan theorists. In the twentieth century, the cosmopolitan approach to international relations has attempted,

"To extend the framework of morality and just action beyond the borders of the state, trying to develop the idea of a non-state, international morality that can be applied globally and not just to the state or within the state" (Hoffman, 1985, p.35).

Therefore, the ideas of the idealists contrast with the 'moral scepticism' associated with political realism (Hoffman, 1985, p.35).

Another political theorist, Ken Booth, in his article *Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice*, suggests that strands of political realism and idealism be fused into a model of world politics,

“The aim of international political theory can therefore be seen in terms of bringing about a convergence of the ‘science’ of Marx and the ‘science’ of Morgenthau into the art of utopian realism” (Booth, 1995, p.347).

On the one hand, in Booth’s theoretical world of ‘Utopian Realism’ ‘clashes of state interests’ and the use of coercion would not be eliminated altogether: for example, on occasion it may be necessary to resort to war after an aggressive ‘regime’ fails to respond to lesser instruments of suasion, such as deterrence and reassurance. On the other hand, the Utopian aspect of this theory envisages ‘community-building between nations’, accompanied by a ‘diffusion of power below and above the state level’: this would produce a type of ‘new medievalism’ characterised by a complex and globalised ‘mesh’ of rules, norms, economic interdependence, identity structures, patterns of decision-making, and territorial and non-territorial communities. The relationships within this globalised political space would be sustained by ‘reciprocal obligations and mutual self-interest (*Gesellschaft*)’, as well as feelings of ‘loyalty and moral obligation (*Gemeinschaft*)’. Finally, security in Booth’s Utopia would be guided by the principal of ‘emancipation, ‘ which “means freeing people from those constraints”, such as ‘war’, ‘poor education, ‘ ‘poverty’, and ‘oppression, ‘ that prevent individuals from making free choices (Booth, 1991a, pp.539-542).

6.3.1. Normative-Realism: A Psychoanalytic Approach

The first chapter of this thesis tried to demonstrate that international political theory, in different cultures and historical periods, can be located along a realist-cosmopolitan, i.e. idealist, spectrum. In addition, it was argued that the various political theories outlined at the beginning of this thesis presumed some theory of human nature, and that these assumptions could be plotted somewhere along the ‘id-ego-superego’ map of human psychology: this paradigm suggests that inter-human co-operation is as much a ‘social fact’ as self-interest. Furthermore, in subsequent chapters this theory has been tested via various historical examples, which have attempted to show that this psychological structure is reproduced in the political behaviour of states within different international societies and cultures, the foreign policies of states, and by the actions of groups within states, as well.

In addition, it has been argued that the socialisation of individuals and collectivities, such as states, into societies, is accompanied by a recurrent tension between the norms and moral demands of a given society, and a tendency for individual or group ‘actors’ to protect their ‘ego’ interests and seek their own advantage. Therefore, as a way of expressing this ‘dialectical’ relationship between social norms and self-interest, the paradigm constructed in this thesis, according to the idealist-realist debate, could be referred to as Normative-Realism.

As mentioned above, other theorists propose that idealism and realism be synthesised into a single paradigm of international politics. For example, Ken Booth's proposal for an 'Utopian Realist' model resembles the methodology in this thesis, in that it recognises that the Cosmopolitan and Realist theories of international politics need not be seen as mutually exclusive, in so far as the theoretical assumptions of these two schools can be incorporated into a one theoretical model. Also, analogous to Normative-Realism, Booth's theory retains states as major actors in world politics, yet, also tries to include other actors above and below the level of state institutions. Nevertheless, Booth's attempt to marry these two theoretical approaches differs from the Normative-Realist approach developed herein, in the following ways:

First, Booth's theory is not founded on psychoanalytic methodology, although his above-mentioned concept of 'ethnocentricity' reflects a psychological approach to group behaviour. Booth's sketch of Utopian-Realism, in two journal articles and one book chapter¹⁹, appears to be an innovative synthesis of concepts from such diverse political theorists as Waltz, Morgenthau, Marx, Rawls, and Falk.

Secondly, Booth appears to be ambivalent about the relationship of his theory, Utopian Realism, to theories of human nature. On the one hand, Booth claims that his model tries to incorporate Morgenthau's 'science', which as noted earlier is based on a theory of human nature, and he asserts that Utopian-Realism is 'not based on the idea of human perfectibility': it would seem that both these comments would seem to reflect a particular view of human nature. On the other hand, he prefers to accept Waltz's 'version of realism' rather than others based on 'a fallen human nature' (Booth, 1991a, pp.533, 545; Booth, 1995, p.347): in this comment, Booth would seem to imply, like Waltz, that his theory does not presume any specific view of human nature. In contrast, as stated above, Normative-Realism claims that theories of human nature are presuppositions on which political theories are, implicitly or explicitly, constructed.

Thirdly, Booth's concept of political 'emancipation' would seem to be based on a prescription of what his Utopian future ought to look like: therefore, his theory appears to be an architectural plan for the future, more than an explanation of present and past history. In contrast, Normative-Realism does not deny that mutual solidarity and co-operation, without coercion, is an essential part of human interaction, even at the state level-of-analysis, but does not try to prescribe or design future world communities: this model only attempts to explain events within international society on the basis of historical evidence from the past and recent past.

¹⁹ Booth refers to Utopian-Realism in his above-mentioned article "Security and Anarchy: Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice" (1991a), and book chapter "Dare Not to Know: International Theory versus the Future (1995), as well as an article, entitled Security and Emancipation (1991b), in *The Review of International Studies*.

Fourthly, Booth's theory concedes that 'clashes of interests' and a resort to coercive forms of authority would coincide with social co-operation, at the state-level-of-analysis, in his future world. However, Booth's idea of a 'diffusion of powers' in this Neo-Mediaeval model seems to imply that co-operation and interdependence prevails amongst actors above and below the level of the state *apparatus*. Also, he implies that anarchical relations are confined to the inter-state level (Booth, 1991a, p.533). In contrast, Normative-Realism, contends that the behaviour of other actors, besides states, in world politics can be analysed according to the same theoretical perspective: for example, coercive forms of socialisation and violence are as much a feature of the actions of some domestic and transnational groups, as between states. Furthermore, as evidenced by the study of gang societies, anarchical relations, resembling those amongst states, exist within the state's area of legal jurisdiction, despite the presence of centralised governments; also, as explained in this chapter, groups like the Mafia may take advantage of gaps in governmental authority within states, and may even try to replace these political vacuums.

Fifthly, Booth's Utopian model and prescriptions seem to avoid the historic phenomena of, apparently, humane Utopias evolving into Totalitarian, i.e. coercive, Dystopias. For example, the Russian Revolution promised to eliminate poverty and to emancipate the powerless in a Communist utopia: Lenin's Bolsheviks offered 'Peace, Land and Bread' to all. However, after the October Revolution in 1917, the principles of Marxism-Leninism did not succeed in establishing the new proletarian community by appealing, solely, to mutual solidarity and voluntary co-operation, and after a few months the Bolsheviks resorted to other means. As a result, by early 1918, Lenin's regime had dissolved the elected chamber, and soon thereafter, the Cheka, or secret police, were established to enforce the principles of Marxism-Leninism, if necessary. These events paved the way for Stalin's totalitarian dystopia, under which coercive forms of authority prevailed (McClosky et al, 1960, pp.75-76; Palmer, 1990, pp.348-349).

According to Normative-Realism, the norms and rules within social groupings are reinforced by both conciliatory/benevolent, and/or, coercive forms of authority, which defines the mechanisms of social cohesion described by the concept of the 'cultural superego'. These theoretical assumptions would seem to account for the historical events which rapidly turned the post-revolution Soviet state from an apparently benevolent utopia to a coercive Stalinist dystopia: in other words, the mechanisms of social order within different societies can involve different combinations of benevolent and coercive forms of social cohesion.

In summary, the foregoing analysis has tried to illustrate that the psychoanalytic methodology employed in this dissertation offers a unique theoretical perspective, which has been referred to in this section as normative-realism, in the ongoing debate between political idealism and realism. Although these psychological concepts have been illustrated in various

ways in the preceding chapters, the following case study will explain how these assumptions can be used to analyse another key concept in international relations, state sovereignty.

6.3.2. The Sovereign State: Definitions and Political Implications

Though the international legal definition of sovereignty is an absolute concept²⁰, the 'political' implications of sovereignty, as will be explained below, are more open to debate. This section will briefly review the political theory of state sovereignty as a preamble to a 'Normative-Realist' appraisal of this concept.

For realists, such as Kenneth Waltz, sovereignty means that states will decide how to manage their internal and external problems in a 'self-help' system of anarchy (Waltz, 1979, p.96). Another realist, Georg Schwarzenberger, argues that, although sovereign states are subjects of international customary law even without their consent, these rules are 'sufficiently elastic' so that they hardly interfere with the independent actions of States, i.e. external sovereignty (Schwarzenberger, 1964, pp.91-92). Likewise, according to Hans Morgenthau, independence is a synonym for sovereignty,

“The statement that the nation is the supreme authority—that is, sovereign within a certain territory—logically implies that it is independent and that there is no authority above it” (Morgenthau, 1985, p.331).

However, Morgenthau specifies that the political independence of states is conditional on there being no 'treaty stipulations to the contrary' (Morgenthau, 1985, p.331).

Alan James, who subscribes to the English School of International Relations, asserts that sovereignty is an 'absolute' condition, and is equivalent to 'constitutional independence', 'which means that states are in control of their internal and external destinies (James, 1986, pp.45-46, 54). On the other hand, another English school theorist, Hedley Bull argues that external sovereignty means that states are independent of 'outside authorities' and 'internal sovereignty' that a territory and a population are under the leadership of a supreme authority. (Bull, 1977, p.8).

Therefore, all the above-mentioned Realist and English School theorists seem to agree that the external political sovereignty of states denotes a type of independence or external autonomy, which may be defined in terms of outside authority, constitutionally, or the freedom

²⁰ However, as explained in Chapter Three, the legal definition of sovereignty would also seem to apply to gangs, such as the Vice Lords, who claim 'jurisdiction' over a defined territory and population, and have a hierarchical system of leadership which asserts supreme authority over the group. Moreover, the sovereign independence of a gang is recognised by other gangs. Also, 'turf maps' demarcate one gang's territory from another's (*The Economist*, May 25th, 1996, p.29). Nevertheless, unlike states, gang sovereignty is an unwritten, informal code, a code which is certainly not recognised by the international society of Sovereign States!

to make independent decisions. In contrast, other theorists have criticised 'absolute' definitions of state sovereignty, on the grounds that they do not reflect the actual state of affairs in international politics. For example, Mansbach et al, contend that the 'doctrine of sovereignty' does not have much basis in empirical terms because 'all nation-states' are constrained by internal and external factors: for example, the traditional idea of sovereignty does not consider that many poor states remain economically and politically dependent on the outside assistance of international organisations, or, the concept of sovereign independence hardly seems relevant to "microsovereignties' such as the Republic of Maldives". In reality, according to Mansbach's analysis, "some states are obviously more 'sovereign' than others" (Mansbach et al, 1976, pp.22-23). Similarly, Geoffrey Stern observes that, while the definition of legal sovereignty is an absolute one, in the political, economic, and cultural relations between states it is conceivable that some states could be more sovereign than others, "in the sense that they can exercise greater independence of initiative" (Stern, 1995, p.84).

6.3.2.1. A Normative-Realist Perspective: Degrees of External Sovereignty?

In Chapter Two, it was explained that Freud's political thought included the idea of a social contract which brought individuals together into interdependent groupings. However, he also proposed that the socialisation of the individual into society, and the internalisation of societies' norms, values, and rules to form a 'superego' conscience, is accompanied by a reduction of individual autonomy: in other words, the successful implementation of a social contract requires that individuals must not seek their independent advantage if this would undermine the mutual interests and stability of the group. Accordingly, Freud asserts that the regulation of social relationships by groups results in the "replacement of the power of the individual by the power of a community". As a result, communal laws are established which impose social restrictions on the members of that community: however, as explained, Freud also postulated that socialisation within a group allowed the individual some degree of independent initiative allowing him to "raise himself above [the identification with a group] to the extent of having some scrap of independence and originality" (Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1985b, p.161; *Civilization and Its Discontents*, 1985a, p.285). Furthermore, it was noted that Freud thought that a similar process of socialisation would apply to inter-state relations as well.

Similarly, Normative-Realism incorporates Freud's principles of individual 'ego interests' versus the demands of the group for socialisation and acceptance of its principles. Moreover, historical examples which have been cited in this thesis seem to support Freud's above-mentioned observations. For instance, Kim-Il Sung's *Juche* ideology represents an extreme case where the enforcement of group norms required an almost complete abrogation of

individual independence, i.e. individual initiative: as explained previously, conformity with the rules and norms of North Korean society were designed to suppress individual initiative so that the individual would be absorbed completely into the group organism. According to the *Juche* doctrine only the state 'as a single living organism' was considered to possess 'autonomy' and 'self-identity'. Furthermore, at the state level-of-analysis, the Soviet Union's regulation and enforcement of a system of rules, values, and norms for the Communist Bloc, resulted in a restriction of its client states' ability to pursue their individual self-interest when those actions did not comply with the group norms, values, and rules, as interpreted by Moscow: for instance, when Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland tried to pursue an independent course, punitive sanctions were used to guarantee obedience. Consequently, it would seem that the sovereign independence of the Soviet Union's clients was limited by the social demands for group conformity.

In addition to these historical examples, the following three examples will try to show that, from a Normative-Realist perspective, the concept of external political and economic sovereignty between states is not an 'absolute' concept. According to this model, it will be concluded that the external political and economic independence of states can be described in terms of degrees of sovereign independence.

6.3.2.2. Mozambique's Relations with the IMF/World Bank

In Chapter Three it was suggested that international regimes, such as the Bretton Woods Institutions, used both conciliatory and coercive instruments of authority (i.e. carrots and sticks) to encourage conformity with their system of economic norms, values, and rules. Furthermore, the following case example, describing Mozambique's relations with the IMF and World Bank, will try to illustrate that Mozambique's adherence to the principles of economic co-operation regulated by the Bretton Woods Institutions would appear to limit its independent initiative and authority over domestic economic policy issues.

In his analysis of the relationship between the IMF/World Bank and Mozambique, David Plank suggests that this countries' compliance with the policies of these economic institutions has resulted in an erosion of the countries' sovereignty, and that the 'traditional' concept of sovereignty is almost meaningless for many African countries (Plank, 1993, p.429),

"Governments often face cascading 'conditionalities' in their acceptance of policy-based aid...Failure to implement agreed sets of conditions (typically the core elements of S.A.P.s²¹ negotiated with the I.M.F.) may thus lead to the simultaneous

²¹ Structural Adjustment Programmes (S.A.P.s) are based on a market-based set of norms which involve reducing the rôle of the state, opening up national economies, and improving balance of payments deficits: accordingly, structural adjustment programmes involve policies such as currency devaluation, the reduction of trade barriers, market deregulation (e.g. removal of internal price controls), making the

termination of assistance...Donors, including the World Bank, have now moved towards the adoption of conditionalities²² that go well beyond even the S.A.P. in their intrusion on what were until recently viewed as issues of national sovereignty” (Plank, 1993, pp.416-417).

In effect, according to Gibbons’ analysis, the Bretton Woods institutions have assumed the “economic policy implementation functions of the Mozambican government” (Gibbon et al, 1993, p.42). Also, because Mozambique is one of the most indebted countries in the world and is heavily dependent on aid to support its faltering economy, it is not in any position to resist the authority of major donors such as the IMF and World Bank (Plank, 1993, pp.411-412, 420, 429).

Therefore, Mozambique’s compliance with the policy recommendations of the IMF and World Bank, which are based on a set of liberal economic principles and are implemented by a combination of punitive economic sanctions, such as total aid withdrawal, and benevolent approaches, such as providing interest-free loans for low-income countries²³, suggests that its external economic sovereignty is limited in two major respects. First, Waltz’s above-mentioned definition of sovereignty, which asserts that states determine how they will manage their internal and external problems, is problematic in Mozambique’s case: as Plank explains, the government is in no position to refuse the conditions of the IMF and World Bank because the economy is so dependent on outside assistance, the state institutions are fragile, and as a result, the cancellation of aid could cause political and economic chaos in the country (Plank, 1993, pp.417, 420, 430). Therefore, in reality, it would seem that the Mozambican government has no

economy more open to foreign investment, and limits on public spending (Woodward, 1992, pp.36-38; Plank, 1993, p.415).

²² These additional ‘political’ conditions make the provision of additional aid conditional on modifications in ‘domestic political arrangements’, consisting of more respect for human rights and democratic, multi-party, elections. While these political conditions have not been implemented in Mozambique, they have been used in other African countries, such as Kenya (Plank, 1993, pp.416-417).

²³ When the World Bank was founded after the second world war its lending to member countries was based on hard terms, i.e. interest rates which were close to commercial banking rates. However, by the 1950s, it became evident that these lending conditions were too harsh for many low-income countries: as a result, a new agency, the International Development Association (IDA), was founded within the World Bank. The IDA was designed to extend loans to poor countries on more generous terms which stipulate that: the loans be repaid over a negotiable period, no interest rates are charged to the borrower, and an administrative fee of 0.75% is charged to the debtor country. These IDA credits have commonly been used for social programmes in areas such as health, education, and low-income housing (Mason et al., 1973, pp.380-382, 388; Payer, 1982, pp.32-35). Moreover, in the 1990s, the IMF and World Bank have drawn up a ‘comprehensive’ programme of debt forgiveness for the ‘debt problems’ of the world’s poorest countries: policies such as these are part of the World Bank’s attempt, in the late 1990s, of ‘instilling the bank with a... human character’ (Blustein, 1995, p.3; Holman, 1996, p.3). Therefore, the Bretton Woods institutions have employed benevolent, as well as punitive, means to ensure the economic co-operation of their members.

room for independent manoeuvrability in this area of domestic economic policy. Secondly, Hedley Bull's definition of external sovereignty, cited above, is equally problematic: in other words, Mozambique's independence of outside authority is not supported by the above findings.

6.3.2.3. Britain's Relations with the IMF

The preceding case example tried to show how compliance with the norms and rules of international organisations such as the IMF and World Bank would seem to restrict the independent manoeuvrability of poor, debt-ridden states who are heavily dependent on outside aid. On the other hand, it would seem that richer states, who are not dependent on outside economic assistance, are in a stronger political position to resist such outside interference. For example, in 1996, it has been reported that the ruling Conservative government in Britain favours large tax cuts prior to the next election (Bush, June 19, 1996, p.27; Hibbs et al., 1996, p.1). However, in early 1996, the IMF warned the British government against such tax cuts, on the grounds that the state of Britain's public finances rules out any tax reduction: this view is supported by financial statistics in 1996 which show that the British Government's public borrowing had over-shot the predicted deficit in the 1995 budget (Elliott et al., April 18, 1996, p.3). Moreover, in the summer of 1996, the IMF, in response to a 'deterioration' in Britain's 'public finances', reiterated its warning to the government in what represented 'a sharp toughening of the IMF's past recommendations' as it 'stepped up the tone of its warning': the IMF advised Mr. Kenneth Clarke, Britain's Chancellor, that there was no scope for the government to cut taxes in the 1996 budget, and it called for a 'renewed emphasis' on cutting Britain's public borrowing (Bowley et al., 1996, p.1). In line with these recommendations, in the November 1996 Budget, the Chancellor chose: 'an unspectacular package whose underlying prudence was intended to rebuild the Tories' economic competence' (Webster *et al.* 27 November 1996, p.1).

Nevertheless, if the British government had decided to ignore the IMF's recommendations and proceeded with large tax reductions, the IMF would have been unable to impose any conditions on the British government since its economy is not dependent on foreign aid. Therefore, in this particular case, and in contrast to the Mozambican example, Britain's level of independence would approximate the realist definitions of sovereignty: in other words, in matters of economic policy it would seem that certain countries, such as Britain, are more capable of exercising their independent initiative, and to determine how they will manage particular policy issues, such as tax cuts, with less interference from an outside authority such as the IMF, than a poor aid-dependent country like Mozambique.

On the other hand, the British government's actions, were in line with the recommendations of the IMF and its economic norms. This might suggest the independent initiative of governments, even in the absence of external coercion: in other words, as argued in earlier chapters of this thesis, when norms, values, and rules are internalised by an individual or group actor, independent action may be restricted even in the absence of external coercion. This idea would appear to be supported by comments of the Bank of England Governor, Eddie George, who in 1996, had also recommended the British government that major tax cuts would not be prudent economic policy, a message which seemed to echo the IMF's (Elliott et al, 1996, p.3). Also, the British Chancellor, Mr. Kenneth Clarke's, attempts in early 1996 to 'play down expectations of tax cuts in November [1996]' (Chote et al., 1996, p.1) seemed to parallel the IMF's view that tax cuts in Britain would be imprudent behaviour,

"Mr Clarke's room for manoeuvre ahead of the election is shrinking fast. He is already making quite a virtue of the 'watch my lips, no irresponsible tax cuts' line" (Tempus, June 19, 1996, p.30).

Furthermore, in the summer of 1996 Kenneth Clarke had appeared to endorse the IMF's above-mentioned calls for economic prudence, and had subsequently allowed, for the first time in Britain, the open publication of the IMF's policy-recommendations. Thus, it seems conceivable, especially in the light of his November Budget, that a state government's independent initiative may be curtailed by its desire to abide and respect collective norms, without significant external coercion.

6.3.2.4. Quebec's Proposal for 'Sovereignty Association'

This second example calls into question James' above-mentioned 'absolute' definition of sovereignty as constitutional independence. The population of Quebec, Canada voted in a provincial referendum, in 1980, on a constitutional proposal which would have, if it had not been defeated, separated the province from the Canadian Confederation. However, it would seem that the proposed constitution of Quebec, which would be based on the principal of 'Sovereignty Association' would have meant that Quebec, in the event of separation, would have accepted partial sovereign independence from the rest of Canada.

The idea of 'Sovereignty Association' proposed that after 'separation', Quebec would continue to maintain economic and political affiliations with Canada to such an extent that 'some of the basic powers of this sovereign state (i.e. Quebec) would remain in the realm of the Federal Government (i.e. Canadian government)'. Therefore, the constitutional plans for a future Quebec state were not based on a complete separation of its political authority from the Canadian state, but were based on "a compromise solution between the powers of federalism (i.e. Canadian federalism) and the supporters of Quebec nationalism". (Lallier, 1991, pp.42-43).

In effect, according to Adalbert Lallier, Quebec's constitutional proposal stops short of the traditional concept of sovereignty which he defines as 'the possession of supreme and uncontrollable power', ²⁴ and thus, should be referred to by another term, such as 'Co-sovereignty'(Lallier, 1991, pp.33-43).

Therefore, in contrast to James' definition of state sovereignty it would seem that not all states, or potential states, base their political existence, entirely, on the principle of 'absolute' constitutional independence. As explained above, in the event of secession from Canada, it would seem that Quebec's '*Sovereignty Association*' constitution would not have provided it with complete control over its political destiny, and thus, Quebec's formula for sovereign statehood does not conform with James' analysis. In contrast to James' definition, it appears that the political and economic independence of an hypothetical Quebec State, whose external political interactions were defined by a '*Sovereignty Association*' constitution, would be limited by its acceptance of Canada's authority in certain, unspecified, political and economic areas: in other words, Canada would continue to regulate and co-ordinate political and economic co-operation between Canada and a 'Sovereign Quebec', and would thus regulate and administer the rules and norms relating to these 'co-sovereign' areas. In this sense the Canadian government would, hypothetically, act as a supra-national organisation *vis-à-vis* the Quebec nation-state with Quebec's constitutional provisions allowing the Canadian government ultimate authority over certain, unspecified, economic and political areas.

Also, during 1995, in a second bid for 'sovereignty', the Parti Québécois, the ruling Nationalist party in the province of Quebec, re-defined its plan for Quebec's secession from the rest of Canada during the six months prior to the referendum on October 31, 1995. The leader of the Parti Québécois, Jacques Parizeau favoured complete economic and political independence from Canada, but, in April, 1995, as it became evident that Quebec's population would vote against this proposition, the party's position started to shift (Séguin, 1995a, p.A1; Séguin, 1995b, p.A3). Moreover, another Quebec nationalist leader, Lucien Bouchard, who favoured strong political and economic links with Canada, rather than total independence as Mr. Parizeau had proposed, started to become more influential in shaping the direction of the 'sovereignty' campaign. Subsequently, two weeks before the referendum, on October 13, 1995, Parizeau handed over control of the referendum strategy to Bouchard: this "move was a recognition that if Quebecers are going to vote in favor of any change, a "sovereign" Quebec must maintain strong formal political and economic links to the rest of Canada...By trying to shift the debate to negotiation and partnership, and away from separation, the sovereignty campaign wants voters to focus on the possible political climate after the referendum"

²⁴ Lallier's definition of sovereignty is quoted from the 1953 edition (p.1623) of Webster's *Dictionary* (Lallier, 1991, p.33).

(Truehart, 1995a, p.2). As part of this partnership proposal, Quebec's provincial government suggested that "a sovereign Quebec under the proposed [partnership] plan would maintain the Canadian passport and currency and establish supra-national councils with Canada for purposes of common defence, customs and trade" ²⁵ (Truehart, 1995c, p.8). In response to these 'partnership' proposals, the Prime Minister of Canada, Jean Chrétien, asserted that under the terms of this 'sovereignty' plan, Quebec would not achieve full independence: he claimed that this political and economic partnership scheme meant that Quebec was proposing to 'leave' Canada and to immediately 'reunite' with it (Séguin, 1995c, p.A3). Consequently, it would seem that with these 'partnership' provisions Quebec would not have been completely independent, either politically or economically, from the Canadian government, which would, hypothetically, exert 'supra-national' influence over the normative basis of co-operation in the above-mentioned areas of political and economic partnership. Therefore, Quebec's second sovereignty campaign was characterised by a gradual reassessment and compromise of Mr. Parizeau's absolute definition of Quebec's sovereign independence, and when the referendum was held in October, 1995, Quebec's proposal for an economic and political partnership with Canada resembled "a similar ballot proposal [in 1980] for "sovereignty" and association with Canada" (Truehart, 1995b, p.8).

6.3.2.5. Summary

The preceding analysis has tried to demonstrate that according to a psychoanalytic Normative-Realist perspective of international relations the external political and economic independence of states can be thought of in terms of degrees of sovereignty.

State sovereignty exemplifies the dialectical relationship between socialisation and autonomy in this model. First, the Mozambique example, tried to show that compliance with the norms, values, and rules of international economic regimes can result in a restriction of a states' ability to assert its independent 'initiative'. Secondly, the British case study tried to show that certain states may be able to resist the external influence of international regimes such as the IMF more easily because they are less susceptible to external coercion. However, at the same time this case example tried to show that compliance with international norms could conceivably limit a state's independent initiative, i.e. sovereignty, in the absence of significant outside coercion. In this example the limitation of a state *apparatus's* independence would result from its respect for, and voluntary compliance with, collective norms. In other words, this form of collective socialisation resembles the above-mentioned 'ego-ideal' form

²⁵ It should be noted that these were unilateral proposals by Quebec's Parti Québécois government, to which the other nine provinces in Canada had not agreed (Truehart, 1995b, p.8).

of social cohesion. The third case study tried to show that Quebec's prospective constitution would limit its ability to assert its independent 'initiative' in certain political and economic areas: in effect, the Government of Canada would retain the legal right to legislate, administer, and regulate the laws and norms in certain political and economic areas for a 'Co-Sovereign Quebec'.

Therefore, in summary, the above analysis reviewed Freud's views on the individual's socialisation into social groups, and his conclusion that conformity with group principles restricts an individual's independence. Similarly, if Freud's above-mentioned observations are extrapolated to the inter-state level-of-analysis, as the 'Normative-Realist' assumptions made in this thesis attempt, it would appear that, in practice, the external political and economic sovereignty of states can be thought of in terms of degrees of independence. Likewise, as explained earlier, it would seem that the sovereign independence of states lies somewhere between two hypothetical extremes: in theory, an authoritarian world government would mean that states would essentially lose the sovereign independence which they claim to possess, whereas, a world of self-contained autarchic states, who did not recognise or abide by any external norms or rules, might approximate a condition of 'absolute' external sovereignty.

6.4.0. Conclusion

This concluding chapter has attempted to illustrate how the findings of this dissertation are related to the 'Inter-Paradigm debate' in International Relations: the theoretical hypotheses of the psychoanalytic paradigm, which has been constructed and tested via historical case studies and examples in the preceding chapters, can be used to analyse theoretical issues raised within each of the three 'paradigms' comprising the 'Inter-Paradigm Debate'. Moreover, this chapter has tried to show that Pluralism, Realism/Idealism, and Structuralism need not be regarded as separate 'islands' of political theory. Accordingly, a complete description of the paradigm elaborated in this thesis is: Psychoanalytical Structuralism – a Normative-Realist approach to World Politics. In effect, this description outlines three principal theoretical facets of this model, which are as follows:

First, the premises of psychoanalytical structuralism are based on a psychoanalytical map of human behaviour, which has been transposed to the group level to analyse the collective behaviour of state and non-state actors. Furthermore, at the inter-state level-of-analysis, this methodology has been used to analyse topics such as international institutions, war, and foreign policy. The case studies in this thesis have tried to show that a particular pattern of collective

behaviour is reproduced across history and cultures, and at different levels of political interaction, i.e. intra-state and inter-state.

Secondly, although most of this thesis has concentrated on states as the most important actors in international affairs, this chapter has maintained that the pattern of social behaviour described by the 'id-ego-superego' model is reproduced in the actions of other actors besides states. For instance, it was asserted previously that this methodology can be used to analyse civil wars and conflict, as well as inter-state warfare. Therefore, since the model proposed herein includes non-state actors as well, this paradigm could be referred to as a theory of world politics, which is an all-inclusive term that embraces state and non-state relationships. Besides, the case studies outlined in this chapter have tried to show that the phenomena of state interdependence and the proliferation of non-state actors can be incorporated into a single model of world politics, without undermining the rôle of the state as the most significant actor on the international stage. For example, even in the case of 'egocentric' groups such as the Mafia, which attempt to avoid, or in some cases confront state governments (e.g. South American drug cartels), a relationship to the institutions of the state can be described: the idea of an 'economic black hole' depicts a negative relationship between a particular group and state authority, i.e. a relationship in which a group tries to elude the jurisdiction of the state. Additionally, even though a case can be made that the sovereign independence of a country such as Mozambique has been compromised by its 'dependent' relationship with the Bretton Woods Institutions, it would seem that the existence of non-state actors, such as these, can only be understood within the context of a group of independent, or quasi-independent, states. In other words, the inclusion of non-state actors in the study of world politics need not exclude states as the pivotal, i.e. principal, actors on the international stage.

Thirdly, as explained above, Normative-Realism describes this thesis' theoretical orientation towards the realist-idealist debate in international affairs. Though theorists such as John Burton express reservations about concepts of 'human nature', which he defines as the aggressive behaviour of individuals and states (Burton, 1972, p.34), in international relations theory, this dissertation has tried to show that ideas of interdependence, 'perpetual peace', and social cohesion also presuppose a certain view of human nature, i.e. a perfectible and co-operative one. Similarly, a common criticism of the aggressive and anti-social, i.e. 'id', component of the 'id-ego-superego' map is that it offers a too deterministic view of human nature. However, as indicated in this thesis this need not be the case. The idea of the 'superego' and 'rational' 'ego' provides a counterbalance to the aggressive aspects of this model, and ensures that aggressive behaviour is not a perpetual phenomena: thus, this model is able to illustrate the fact that the aggressive behaviour of both states and individual human beings varies widely. Moreover, as demonstrated in the preceding chapters, a psychoanalytic study of

aggression is not limited to cases of unprovoked, i.e. overt, aggression, but, can explain defensive, and potentially violent, reactions by states, as well.

This chapter's discussion of the 'Inter-Paradigm debate' in International Relations has tried to illustrate that the theoretical models of structuralism, pluralism, and realism need not be considered as mutually exclusive bodies of theory. It has been argued that the psychoanalytic model elaborated in this thesis intersects with each of these paradigms.

7.0.0. Final Conclusions and Propositions

This thesis has tried to demonstrate that certain fundamental psychoanalytic principles, which also overlap with assumptions in the field of psychiatry and personality psychology, can be used to elaborate a theoretical model that offers a distinct view of world politics. In support of this conclusion, the following twelve principal insights into the theoretical and 'real', i.e. empirical, spheres of world politics have been proposed:

First, the analysis of the state *apparatus* according to an 'ego' psychology model suggests that the definition of the state in political sociology, i.e. as an *institutional structure*, need not be seen as mutually exclusive from the definition of the state in international law, i.e. as a group-actor or legal person. According to this analysis, the institutions of the state function as a collective 'ego' for the state as collective political actor.

Secondly, the psychoanalytic 'order out of chaos' theory challenges linear theories of political order in international society, such as Hedley Bull's Anarchical Society thesis. This model proposes that the institutions of social cohesion in modern and pre-modern international societies can be described by the concept of the ego-ideal and coercive aspects of the cultural superego. Further, the emergence of 'social black holes', i.e. groups such as states that assert their individual autonomy against these mechanisms of social cohesion, is a pattern of socialisation which is apparent throughout the course of history. In this respect the process of community-building in modern and pre-modern international societies resembles the recurring pattern of order emerging out of chaos which has been recently investigated by natural scientists and economic theorists.

Thirdly, this thesis challenges the notion of homogeneous 'anarchy', i.e. the lack of coercive forms of social enforcement such as those that exist within states, as portrayed in Kenneth Waltz's theory of Structural-Realism and his third image of war. According to the model proposed herein, social cohesion is obtained by either consensual/benevolent, or, coercive means within intra-state or inter-state societies. For instance, the model constructed above has attempted to show that, although the mechanisms of order are decentralised in international society, certain institutions, such as rule by a hegemonic power can include coercive mechanisms of authority which resemble those of centralised state governments. Moreover, as explained previously, the institution of war, for example the Gulf War of 1991, has been used in international society as a coercive means of enforcing international norms, such as the 'legal' concept of state sovereignty.

Fourthly, as was shown in the study of gang societies, the decentralised mechanisms of social interaction between gang groups, which exist within the legal jurisdiction of states, resembles the institutions of social cohesion within the 'anarchical' international society of

states. Thus, it would appear that the decentralised mechanisms of social order within international society are not limited to societies without centralised governments, i.e. international society and primitive tribal societies, as some scholars, such as Hedley Bull, might suggest: the decentralised institutions of social order between gangs exist, despite the presence of centralised state *apparats*.

Fifthly, the case histories within this dissertation, which have spanned five thousand years of world history and have included Non-Western cultures, suggest that Political Realism and Political Idealism as separate theories cannot describe the full range of interactions within world society. For example, in globalisation of the world's economy, analysed above, anti-social and self-interested, i.e. 'egocentric' behaviour, has co-existed along with the co-operation with a common set of economic norms, rules, and principles of economic cohesion. Therefore, according to this thesis, the 'id-ego-superego' model marries both political realism to idealism, and accordingly, can be referred to as a Normative-Realist theory of world politics: moreover, according to this view of world politics, realist or idealist thinking, as separate paradigms, offer a partial view of the 'real' world of political interaction.

Sixthly, according to this thesis the idea of absolute external sovereignty, i.e. political autonomy and the ability to exercise independent initiative, does not describe the 'real-life' situation of many states, for example Mozambique *vis-à-vis* the Bretton Woods institutions. In contrast, this thesis contends that external political sovereignty in international politics can be thought of in degrees, i.e. along a continuum between the extremes of absolute autonomy and the absolute loss of political independence. However, this is not to suggest that the twentieth century society of states is characterised by the complete erosion of external state sovereignty: as explained above, although it would seem that not all states can equally exercise their political and economic independence in international society, it also appears some states, for example countries such as Britain that are not dependent on external aid, can choose to exercise their independent political and/or economic initiative in situations such as the IMF's recent attempt to influence the British government's economic, i.e. national tax, practices. Therefore, this thesis contends that external political sovereignty is not an all or nothing phenomena in the 'real' world of political interaction: in other words, it seems that this conventional view is an over-simplification of the 'real' life conditions in international affairs.

Seventhly, this thesis challenges the 'traditional' Hobbesian 'realist' idea that the ability of a state to exert power in inter-state affairs is limited to its ability to 'coerce' other states into conformity, for example by diplomatic, military and/or economic means. The definition of power outlined earlier, employs both the conciliatory/benevolent, and, coercive forms of social authority described by the concept of the 'cultural superego': accordingly, the findings of this thesis claim that political power can involve an appeal to consensus and co-

operation by a lead state or an international institution, for example a regime, as much as it can involve coercive means, such as the threat of punitive sanctions.

Eighthly, this thesis questions the notion that non-state actors can be excluded from a paradigm of International Relations. The idea of 'social black holes' demonstrates that a similar pattern of social 'egocentricity' *vis-à-vis* the institutions of social cohesion in society, both at the inter-state and intra-state level-of-analysis, exists. On the one hand, as noted above, in large states such as the United States, the de-stabilising effects of small groups such as the Freemans and the Davidians may be minimal. On the other hand, certain non-state actors, such as the South American drug cartels, have assumed control of certain territories under the 'official jurisdiction' of South American state governments. Also, in an extreme case scenario, such as Somalia, the revolt of stateless clan based groups, against the authority of the state's institutions, led to an Hobbesian state of anarchy, and subsequently, no new state has emerged to take its place. Therefore, at the intra-state level-of-analysis, as well, the idea of political order is not a static concept: it has been asserted that both international and domestic societies are characterised by dynamic and fluctuating conditions of social order/disorder which can be described by a single psychological model.

Ninthly, this thesis challenges the notion that inter-state structures can be examined as separate, 'conditioning', structures, i.e. apart from states as acting units, for example as Kenneth Waltz suggests in his *Theory of International Politics* (1979). The 'ego' psychology model which has been adapted in this thesis presupposes that the foreign policy actions of states are inseparably linked with the external environment, i.e. the psychological milieu of state governments are inextricably linked to the external environment.

Tenthly, although other authors such as Graham Allison have challenged the 'rational actor model' of foreign policy-making, this thesis has approached this same issue from a 'ego' psychology perspective. In particular, the case studies of North Korean and Albanian foreign policy tried to show how rationality, i.e. an actor's logical and thorough appraisal of its actions and environmental circumstances, according to an ego psychology approach, can be limited by internal perceptions of the external environment which appear to be exaggerated, distorted or, even, delusional.

Eleven, the Fourth image of war challenges the idea that conflict, primarily, occurs between states as a result of anarchy, i.e. the lack of centralised means of enforcement, as proposed by Kenneth Waltz's above-mentioned third-image. Whereas, this explanation of inter-state conflict is included in a fourth-psychoanalytic-image analysis of war, another plausible explanation of inter-state conflict, as well as civil wars, is a revolt against the social restrictions and demands of an international or intra-state, i.e. domestic, society.

Lastly, this thesis has challenged the notion that political theorists can avoid taking, either implicitly or explicitly, some view of human nature, as certain scholars, such as Kenneth Waltz, have claimed. According to this thesis political theories from different cultures and from different periods of human history make presumptions about human psychology, which can be plotted somewhere along the 'id-ego-superego' map: moreover, these maps would seem to condition the way that theorists interpret the 'real' world of international relationships.

Hence, these twelve major themes try to show that the paradigm constructed in this thesis portrays a distinct view of the relationships, both within states and between them, in the 'real' political world. Furthermore, each of the concepts elaborated in this dissertation have been tested empirically, that is by referring to historical examples, observations, and case studies. Finally, this thesis attempts to illustrate this dynamic model of world politics by referring to a more detailed version of Manning's 'lily-pond' analogy.

Therefore, in conclusion, this thesis is an attempt to produce a political theory which relates to 'real' world affairs. Also, whereas post-modern thinkers and post-structuralists in International Relations, such as James Der Derian (1989, pp.3-10), reject the attempt to construct "unified, integrated theory" as attempted by Freud and Marx (Brown, 1994, p.60), this thesis has tried to establish that this is not a futile endeavour. On the one hand, this thesis does not contend that there is only one way of looking at international affairs, nor does it propose that it has found any ultimate truths about international relations. Yet, on the other hand, the author believes that attempts to develop theoretical models and hypotheses, which try to explain the historical behaviour of political actors such as states, are fundamental for an understanding of world politics.

Appendix One:

8.0.0. Psychoanalytic Methodology: Critics versus Defenders

Although Psychoanalytic theory, like other ‘unified, integrated’ theories such as Marxism (Brown, 1994, p.60), have been the subjects of criticism, for example by Karl Popper, this appendix tries to provide a balanced view between the sceptics and the supporters. This appendix will focus on the Freudian paradigm, which has provided the conceptual foundation for the psychoanalytic school of thought. On the one hand, the critics cited in this section include Karl Popper and H.J. Eysenck. On the other hand, the second section will concentrate on the arguments of psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts who propose that the Freudian paradigm represents a major discovery in science of psychology. Finally, the views of two other scholars, whose work takes a balanced view between total rejection and acceptance, will be cited. This methodological appendix tries to demonstrate that the rejection or validation of psychoanalytic theory is not an open-and-shut case: moreover, the recent academic and journalistic pessimism about psychoanalytic concepts would only seem to represent a continuation of an ongoing debate which has been taking place for the better part of a half-century.

8.0.1. A Criticism of Psychoanalytic Theory: Karl Popper

Karl Popper in his book *Conjectures and Refutations* (1969) distinguishes between *science* and *pseudo-science*: his criteria of a scientific theory “is its falsifiability, or refutability, or testability”. In other words, Popper contends that the ‘genuine test’ of a theory is that it can be refuted, i.e. falsified, by empirical means, for example experimental tests. In this respect, Popper challenges the conventional view in science which asserts that empirical tests confirming a theories’ hypotheses strengthens the credibility of the theory: in effect, Popper’s logic proposes that it is not possible to know whether a scientific theory is absolutely true, but, it is possible to refute it, and thereby, falsify its claims. Therefore, according to Popper if empirical tests do not exist by which a theory can be falsified then it is not a scientific theory (Popper, 1969, pp.33-37, 156-157; Popper, 1959, p.33).

In particular, Popper identifies Marx’s theory of ‘dialectical materialism’ and Freud’s psychoanalytic paradigm as ‘pseudo-scientific’ theories. On the one hand, Popper claims that Freud’s hypotheses, such as the ‘id-ego-superego’ concept, “contain most interesting psychological suggestions, but not in a testable form” (Popper, 1969, pp.37-38). In addition, he asserts that Marx’s theoretical predictions of the ‘coming social revolution’ were tested and refuted, and accordingly, Marx re-interpreted his theory in light of this ‘evidence’ to formulate

a new theory which was 'irrefutable' (Popper, 1969, p.37; Popper, 1940, pp.424-426). In this sense, according to Popper's analysis, both Freudian psychoanalysis and Marx's 'dialectical materialism' are pseudo-sciences because they cannot be scientifically disproved by 'empirical' means.

However, Popper's definition of a scientific theory has not been completely accepted. For example, Imre Lakatos, in his essay *Popper on Demarcation and Induction*, questions Popper's assumptions, on the basis that,

"[Popper] thought, like the best scientists of his time, that Newton's theory [i.e. dynamics and gravitation], although refuted, was a wonderful scientific achievement" (Lakatos, 1992, p.145).

In this respect, Popper's logic seems inconsistent in that he continued to accept Newton's theory as scientific even though its hypotheses have been subsequently refuted by Einstein's theory of relativity, while at the same time he proposed that Marxism and Freudianism are pseudo-sciences. In contrast to Popper, Lakatos postulated that,

"Newton's theory of gravitation, Einstein's relativity theory, quantum mechanics, Marxism, Freudianism, are all research programmes, each with a characteristic hard core...Each of them, at any stage of development has unsolved problems and undigested anomalies. All theories, in this sense, are born refuted and die refuted" (Lakatos, 1992, pp.4-5).

In other words, Lakatos' methodology of scientific research programmes proposes that all research programmes, including Freudianism, have unsolved and disputed questions, and therefore, cannot be easily refuted by the 'Popperian quick kill' method (Lakatos, 1992, p.6).

8.0.2. Eysenck's Critique: What is Wrong With Psychoanalysis?

Though the psychologist Hans Eysenck concedes that Freud's theories introduced new life into the 'musty dry-as-dust atmosphere of nineteenth century academic psychology', and accepts that Freud's ideas 'have had a tremendous influence on psychiatry', he does not believe that psychoanalysis can be considered as a 'scientific type of psychology'. In particular, Eysenck distinguishes between 'common-sense' psychology which attempts to '*understand*' the behaviour of human beings, and another form of 'experimental' psychology that tries to '*explain*' human 'conduct on a scientific basis'. On the one hand, Eysenck claims that 'common-sense' psychology, such as psychoanalytic theory, tries to gain an 'intuitive insight into the workings of another person's mind on the basis of his common-sense knowledge of human nature'. This type of psychological theory, according to Eysenck, is an essential professional tool for such persons as 'psychiatrists, social leaders, and politicians', yet, has 'nothing to do with psychology as a science'. On the other hand, Eysenck proposed that the 'scientific' psychologist attempts to 'explain' human behaviour, for example

intelligence and emotions, according to 'a system of general scientific laws. Moreover, Eysenck contends that this type of 'academic psychology' does not equip the psychologist to understand 'human nature' anymore than a non-psychologist (Eysenck, 1987, pp.3-6, 16).

Furthermore, Eysenck differentiates between psychoanalysis as a 'common-sensical' psychology and 'scientific' psychology on the basis that the findings of psychoanalysis are based on clinical findings, whereas, research psychologists test their theories in controlled experimental situations. Similarly, Eysenck believes that the scientific testing of hypotheses cannot be based on clinical findings which are collected 'on the couch' as Freud did.

(Eysenck, 1987, p.8). In effect, Eysenck's critique of Freud's hypotheses reflects a disagreement between 'experimental' forms of science or 'pure science', versus other research programmes that do not validate their hypotheses via strictly controlled, reproducible experiments. In other words, Eysenck questions the validity of the clinical evidence supplied by Freud to confirm his theoretical concepts.

8.0.3. Psychoanalytic Theory: Defenders

Other scholars, for example Rahman, have questioned the 'experimental' psychologists' views that Freud's theory is 'unscientific' because it cannot be validated by 'conventional' experimental methods. Rahman insists that this is not grounds for dismissing psychoanalytic theory: for example, he observes that, although astronomers cannot carry out controlled experiments on 'heavenly bodies', astronomy is still regarded as a scientific body of theory. Therefore, Rahman compares psychoanalytic theory to sciences such as biology and astronomy which rely heavily on observational data rather than experimental material (Rahman, 1977b, pp.4, 12). In support of his conclusion he quotes Sears who asserts that,

"Psychoanalysis deals heavily in the more potent emotions and motives, and if society is hard put to control sex, aggression, anxiety, unreason etc., it is little wonder that the experimentalist shies away from unleashing them in the laboratory" (Sears, 1944, p.306; Rahman, 1997b, p.12).

In other words, Sears implies that many of the subjects that psychoanalysis investigates may be more amenable to clinical, i.e. observational, research techniques than experimental manipulation.

In contrast to the pronouncements of Freud's theories by 'experimental psychologists' as 'unscientific', Rahman asserts that the Freudian paradigm can be compared with some of the 'best forms' of theory in science, for example Einstein's theory of relativity. In support of this claim Rahman refers to Einstein's observation that all scientific theories are 'speculative'

hypotheses which involve the formation of concepts which correlate with experience, i.e. observations in the real world (Einstein, 1950, p13; Rahman, 1977b, pp.3, 5, 8, 18). In other words, as Rahman explains, the formulation of concepts in science necessitates some degree of uncertainty, and these ideas can only become more meaningful and precise by referring repeatedly to empirical material, i.e. actual observations obtained from testing the concepts by such techniques as clinical observation; also, these theoretical statements are unknowable as isolated pieces of knowledge, and can only acquire meaning by testing them against observations in the 'real world'. Likewise, Rahman observes that Freud fits this definition of a scientific empiricist in that he postulated that scientific thinking implies 'a correspondence with reality' i.e. 'with what exists outside of us', and that 'this correspondence with the real external world we call truth' (Freud, 1949, pp.35-36, Rahman, 1977b, p.5). Accordingly, Rahman asserts, that Freud's theoretical abstractions such as the 'id-ego-superego' are attempts to describe actual 'psychological phenomena, ' and in this sense can be compared with a physicists' attempt to describe 'reality' by referring to theoretical concepts such as 'electrons in orbits' . In summary, Rahman proposes that Freud's and Einstein's discoveries are 'parallel revolutions' in science in that they both produced radically different concepts: he asserts that Einstein's re-conceptualisation of 'space-time' phenomena are paralleled by Freud's models of the 'human mind' (Rahman, 1977b, pp.7, 10, 16-17).

Other psychologists, for example Shakow and Rapaport, emphasise Freud's impact on the field of psychology in the twentieth century. In their article, *The Influence of Freud on American Psychology*, Shakow and Rapaport observe that Freud's 'body of theory and observation' has penetrated almost every area of psychology, and furthermore, they assert that he has become the 'most prominent name in the history of psychology'. In particular, they list the following areas of psychology in which Freud's contributions are most prominent: 'abnormal [i.e. the study of psychological disorders such as the psychoses], personality, developmental, industrial and social, and psychotherapy' (Shakow et al., 1977, pp.391, 394). Moreover, Shakow and Rapaport believe that Freud's work represents an important psychological discovery because of its insights into 'human nature, '

"What use are *psychologists*-all those professionally involved with human nature-to make of Freudian thinking? The answer lies essentially in the recognition that Freudian thinking is part of man's conquest of nature-the understanding of human nature" (Shakow et al., 1977, p.401).

Therefore, Shakow and Rapaport, in contrast to other psychologists such as Eysenck whose work was cited in the previous section, believe that the understanding of 'human nature', i.e. the behavioural patterns of man, is of central importance in psychology. In addition, Shakow

and Rapaport, in contrast to Eysenck's above-mentioned criticisms, believe that Freud's work exemplifies the 'spirit of the Enlightenment' in that his methodology was based on observation and empirical analysis: in support of this conclusion, they note that participant observation, the method employed by Freud in his research, is an acceptable method of data collection, because 'not all problems need to be taken to the laboratory' (Shakow et al., 1977, pp.392, 396, 398, 401).

Finally, Michael Sherwood, a clinical psychiatrist, in his book *The Logic of Explanation in Psychoanalysis* (1969), tries to examine psychoanalysis from both the 'philosophy of science' and 'psychiatric' perspective. In his analysis, Sherwood chooses to examine in-depth some of Freud's clinical case histories, rather than those of other psychoanalytic scholars, because 'Freud's viewpoint has undoubtedly been historically the most influential psychoanalytic school'. In summary, Sherwood's analysis maintains that 'defenders of psychoanalysis' cannot claim that 'the whole discipline is completely scientific, or testable', whereas, 'philosophical critics' are wrong to employ an 'unitary analysis or model' to discredit psychoanalytic theory as 'prescientific'. Nonetheless, Sherwood concludes 'that psychoanalysis can indeed stand on its own as a scientific discipline, and it can at least be on speaking terms with the natural sciences (Sherwood, 1969, pp.v., 72-73, 257).

8.0.4. Neither Pro nor Con:

This section will survey two other evaluations of Freudian psychoanalysis which arrive at a balanced view which is neither skewed towards total acceptance nor a total rejection of his hypotheses.

First, Fisher and Greenberg in their book *The Scientific Credibility of Freud's Theories and Therapy* (1977), recognise that Freud has had a 'remarkable' impact on the twentieth century thinking: they accept that he provided a 'new' outlook on human behaviour which 'reshaped' psychiatric thinking, established 'new' ways of thinking in 'formal academic psychology', and influenced the ideas of 'historians, sociologists, and political scientists'. In particular, they observe that in the fields of psychology and psychiatry Freud's ideas concerning defence mechanisms, unconscious motivations, psychological repression, and personality development are 'everywhere imprinted' (Fisher et al., 1977, pp.viii, 5). Nonetheless, Fisher and Greenberg observe that since most psychoanalysts are trained as clinical medical doctors and psychiatrists the emphasis of the discipline has over-emphasised 'clinical practicality' rather than 'scientific ideals' i.e. concerted efforts to test, revise, and validate psychoanalytic concepts. Therefore, they propose that psychoanalytic school should clarify what evidence will be accepted to refute or confirm their theories. Although Fisher and Greenberg conclude that

they are not 'antagonistic to Freudian concepts' they also feel that the psychoanalytic community must be prepared to become scientifically more accountable (Fisher et al., 1977, pp.14-16).

Secondly, Farrell, in his book *The Standing of Psychoanalysis* (1981), divides Freud's paradigm into the following two components: first, it is comprised of a 'High Level Theory' which contains theoretical generalisations, such as Freud's hypotheses about the human 'mind' and 'consciousness', and secondly, a 'Low Level Theory' that is subsumed within the High Level Theory, and which makes specific assertions about human behaviour, such as 'When a person suffers frustration, he is liable to regress to an earlier stage of development'. Farrell observes that while it may be correct that Freud's discoveries about the 'human mind' are of significant 'historical influence', the theoretical constructs contained in his 'High and Low Level Theories' have not been established via empirical scientific tests (Farrell, 1981, pp.37, 190-191). Accordingly, Farrell's concluding assessment of Freud's theory contains the following comment,

"Analytic theory...presents us with a vision of human nature, which runs far beyond the power of contemporary science and rational inquiry to determine how much truth it really contains ...Analytic theory may turn out in the end to be more like Aristotle's physics or Ptolemy's astronomy than like Newton's theory of matter" (Farrell, 1981, p.193).

8.0.5. Summary

The scientific validity of the Freudian paradigm is a controversial issue which has been extensively written about and debated by philosophers of science, psychologists, and psychiatrists, and in other fields, such as sociology and anthropology. On the one hand, some scholars such as Rahman draw parallels between the Freudian paradigm 'and other revolutions in science due to men like Copernicus, Darwin, and Einstein' (Rahman, 1977a, p.xxii). Moreover, a psychologist, William McDougall, claimed that 'Freud has, quite unquestionably, done more for the advancement of our understanding of human nature than any other man since Aristotle' (McDougall, 1926, p.viii; Ramzy, 1977, p.21). On the other hand, above-mentioned critics such as Karl Popper and Hans Eysenck believe that Freud's theories are 'pseudo-scientific' and 'common-sensical'. Whereas the above-mentioned evaluations of the Freudian paradigm span over sixty years, the theoretical controversy surrounding Freud's models of human psychology remains unresolved at the end of the twentieth century, and a similar debate to the one described in this appendix has continued into the 1990s.

Appendix Two:

9.0.0. Psychoanalytic Structuralism versus the Behaviourist School of International Relations

Appendix Two will contrast the Psychoanalytic model constructed in this thesis with the goals, research techniques, and theoretical results of the Behaviourist School of International Relations.

Behavioural theorists in International Relations, according to one advocate of this school of thought, David Singer, tried to adapt the research techniques of the 'behavioural sciences', such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology, for use in International Relations. According to Singer, the Behaviourists aimed to improve the 'fact-finding techniques' in the discipline so as to ensure that the 'basic observations' and 'classification procedures by which cases are described' become 'explicit' and 'replicable' i.e. theoretical results can be tested and reproduced by other International Relations scholars: moreover, these 'scientific' methods would allow International Relations researchers to analyse, correlate, and verify data by statistical procedures and computer processing. Singer proposed that these changes were necessary because the 'fact-finding' techniques of the 'traditional International Relations scholar' are 'unique' 'impressionistic', and do not categorise historical 'events' and theoretical 'conditions' according to 'explicit' and 'rigorous coding rules'. The 'behaviourist' method, according to Singer, differs from the situation where historians and political scientists consider a myriad of facts and continually 'reappraise' and 'rearrange' them in their minds, and thereby make 'a highly disciplined sequence of mental calculations' to arrive at their final 'interpretation'. The problem with this research method, however, is that 'no one else' can 'know' or verify how the scholars' conclusions were arrived at. In contrast to this 'traditional' form of research, Singer proposes that the above-mentioned 'operational' procedures are necessary to make the study of International Relations more 'scientific'. In other words, exacting rules of data-collection, analysis, and classification are required to confirm historians' and political scientists' data: otherwise, Singer claims, their hypotheses 'cannot be treated as anything more than an interesting hypotheses or hunch' (Singer, 1969, pp.65-68).

However, as Michael Banks observes, despite the Behaviourists' proposals for rigorous research techniques and their 'wholesale rejection' of realist thinking in International Relations, it turned out that the Behaviourists only disagreement with realism was its 'research techniques', as they were unable to offer an alternative model to 'realism'. Banks asserts that the Behaviourists 'quantification', 'simulation', and 'theory-building' utilised realist hypotheses as the foundation for their investigations (Banks, 1985, p.14). In effect, it appears that the

Behaviourist school of International Relations became preoccupied with what Shakow and Rapaport have referred to in the field of 'experimental psychology' as 'psychology's self consciousness, a self-consciousness which was reflected in a preoccupation *with the scientific method* and experimental design at the cost of substantive concern' (Shakow et al., 1977, p.394). Likewise, it seems that the Behaviourists' obsession with the 'scientific method' and research design distracted them from their 'substantive concern' to refute the theoretical propositions of the Realist school. As a result, the Behaviourists' research endeavours appear to have brought them full circle back to the original propositions that they had originally set out to refute: in other words, they failed to develop their own theory of International Relations as they had, supposedly, set out to do¹.

In contrast to the Behaviourist school of International Relations, which failed to develop a distinct theory of International Relations, this dissertation tries to construct an International Relations paradigm from a pre-existing psychoanalytic model of individual psychology. This dissertation has employed the deductive method of research, in which general theoretical, i.e. psychoanalytic, statements are tested against particular cases, i.e. case histories. Whereas, the 'empirical' methods employed in this thesis may not conform to the rigorous 'experimental' designs described by the Behaviourist school, or the 'experimental' psychologists, whose work was referred to in Appendix One, in that this analysis has not employed statistical correlations and computerised data processing techniques, it has employed historical observations to demonstrate the various theoretical hypotheses elaborated herein. In this sense, the methodology used in this dissertation conforms to the 'observational' type of 'empirical' analysis referred to in Appendix One, which also corresponds to the method of theoretical verification employed in the field of psychoanalysis in general. Furthermore, as was explained previously, this method of investigation resembles the techniques used by historians: for example, in his essay, *Psychoanalysis as History*, Hans Meyerhoff argues that psychoanalysis and history 'have a great deal in common' in that the work of psychoanalysts cannot be divorced from historical observation in society, and vice versa, historians are 'engaged in a *psychological* project of a highly introspective nature; for it is his task to discover the inner and hidden *meaning* behind the overt sequence of events' (Meyerhoff, 1987, pp.17, 19). Likewise, this thesis has tried to demonstrate that historical methods and psychoanalytic concepts are not mutually exclusive in International Relations research.

¹ Since the Behaviourist school did not elaborate a separate paradigm of International Relations it was not mentioned in Chapter Six, which compares and contrasts the psychoanalytic model developed in this thesis with other 'general' theoretical approaches in the discipline.

Finally, the critique of historians' and political scientists' research methods by the Behaviourist school in International Relations resembles a similar evaluation of psychoanalytic research by the 'experimental' school of psychology (see Appendix One): in other words, both of these academic fields have been criticised for their inability to corroborate their findings by reproducible, empirical methods, such as controlled experiments and quantifiable modes of data collection. However, as was indicated in Appendix One it can be argued that experimental and quantifiable modes of evidence are not the only way of supporting a theoretical hypotheses, and that historical and observational material can be an equally valid way of supporting theoretical concepts. Thus, in summary both history and psychoanalysis would seem to have been faced with a similar criticism of their method of theory construction and validation. A similar view is presented by Michael Nicholson in his essay entitled *Methodology (1985)*, which outlines the issue of research methods and theory confirmation in International Relations,

“While hard cases may make bad law, it is arguable that they make good philosophy. Perhaps the most tendentious field to which an empiricist approach may be applied is psychoanalysis...Along with history, it might be thought (incorrectly)² that psychoanalysis is the area to which the deductivist or empiricist mode of analysis is least applicable” (Nicholson, 1985, pp.93-94).

² It should be noted that the word (incorrectly) is inserted by Nicholson in his original text, and not by the author of this thesis.

Appendix Three:

10.0.0.A Philosophical Model of Theory Construction

Oeser, a contemporary philosopher of science, has elaborated a theoretical model of theory construction which could be used to understand abstract psychoanalytic models.

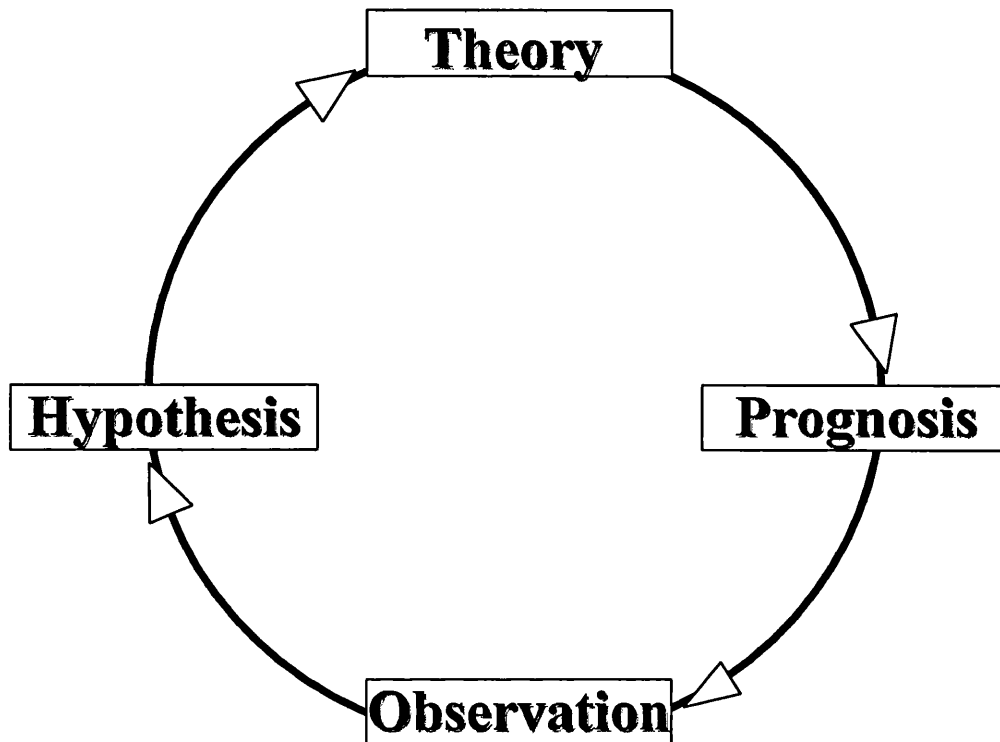


Figure Four (Oeser, 1976)

According to Oeser (see Figure Four), theory construction can be depicted as a circular process. *Observations* form the foundation of working *hypotheses* which, in turn, can lead to abstract *theories*, accounting for the stated *observations*. Deductive statements from these *theories* form *prognoses* which can be tested against further *observations*. Similarly, abstract psychoanalytic models, could be understood in this manner. (Oeser, 1976, p.119)

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