

MODELLING THE  
INTERNATIONAL POLICY-MAKING  
SYSTEM  
(Institutions & Processes)

by

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## INTRODUCTION

The unprecedented changes brought about by modern technology have produced radical developments in human societies of the contemporary world. So much so that things seem to be getting out of hand and human control over the course of events appears to be increasingly difficult. It may be that in a haphazard way, people have created a monster of gigantic proportions who has taken an independent existence and is growing by its own momentum.

Even if this picture is somewhat exaggerated, it contains the problematique of our times and reflects the frustration of many people in dealing with it. Evidently, the world has become a complex and volatile system which is straining our capacities to understand and control it. We consider it axiomatic that this interdependent and interacting world is a system; somewhat loose and disorderly, but a system nonetheless. This means that there is an underlying pattern to what is going on in the world; a pattern which inter-relates and explains its disparate components and the events they produce.

Moreover, even if our control of this system leaves a lot to be desired, the world has been developing public institutions and practices which are attempting to do a tolerable job of regulating its operations. The cybernetic mechanisms which we are evolving, primitive as they may be, are part of world politics. The activity of politics takes place within social systems in order to resolve their conflicts and reach collective decisions. In this study, we shall investigate the elements and operation of the political system in this world. In doing so, we shall try to see who participates in these decisions, where are these decisions taken and how are they arrived at. This is a difficult undertaking because of the complexity and untidiness of the system; so we shall have to simplify reality by stylizing it in a model.

The model we shall be elaborating here is based on systems theory which analyzes politics in terms of its structures and functions, inputs and outputs. Accordingly, the study is divided in two parts; the first deals with the structural elements of the system and the second with its dynamics. Hopefully, this procedure will shed some light in this perplexing and critical subject.

## THE STRUCTURE OF WORLD POLITICS

In this, the first part of the study, we shall outline the structural elements of the world political system. Before we do so, however, we must define what is meant by the key terms used here in the phrase: the structure of the world political system.

To begin with, a "system" is a set of orderly, interrelated units: be they atoms, individuals or nations. Of the different types of systems that one may discern, we shall here deal with open and dynamic ones. That is to say, systems whose units interact both among themselves and their environment, according to some pattern. We consider the "world" as such a system, because it is made up of various groups of people in patterned relationships and constant interactions. In this sense, the World refers to the totality of human relations and activities on this Earth.

Fortunately, we shall not deal with such immense totality here. Rather, we are concerned with only one aspect of these relations and activities: i.e. "the political." This aspect comprises those social acts which try to resolve conflicts by the dialectical use of influence. Politics arise out of the competing claims that people make about the distribution of values in society. As a result, politics provides a means for accomodating opposing interests and reaching mutual agreements. Politics, thus, ends with a common decision, collectively arrived at. These decisions can either be public policies or laws. In this sense, politics is a policy-making or legislative process.

To summarize: the World Political System is composed of the public decision-making structures (relationships) and processes (interactions) of human societies on planet Earth. It - the W.P.S. - is the complex of various influences which determine the policies of large groups of mankind. In studying the WPS we want to find out who decides what, when, where, how and why; especially in the making of national policies and international

law. In this part, we shall begin the study by investigating the structures or institutions of WPS. This will set the conceptual framework within which the protagonists of world politics play their roles. The following three chapters then will outline the scope, the actors and the arena of WPS and thus answer the questions of what, who and where. The other questions will be dealt with in the three chapters of Part Two.



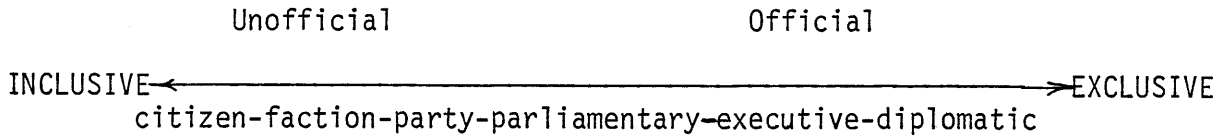
The sub-categories of each are important to a certain extent, but the broader classifications will be sufficient for our purposes. These two classes or levels of political activity will thus serve as our basic structural components in analyzing the WPS.

## 2. The Sectoral Dimension

The second dimension we have chosen is based on functionality: that is to say, it distinguishes human activities according to their purpose. It is on this criterion that we separate economics from politics or private from public affairs. This functional classification is convenient, since the WPS represents only one aspect of reality: i.e. the political, thus excluding the economic. The latter would be included in the World Economic System which is related to the WPS but is distinct from it. These two systems, along with others, such as the World Cultural System, would be subsumed within what we might call the World Social Supersystem. In this capacity the WSS would be their environment. Taking it a step further, WSS itself, exists within the natural environment of the Earth and the universe beyond.

In this study, WPS is the central focus of our concerns, everything else is peripheral. Looking inside the WPS, we can continue the functional classification for the various sectors of politics. As we did for the spatial dimension, we can represent the sectoral dimension as a continuum along which politics is played in different contexts. Since we have chosen "context" as the criterion, the linear representation below extends between the inclusive and exclusive poles (based on the number of people involved), i.e.:

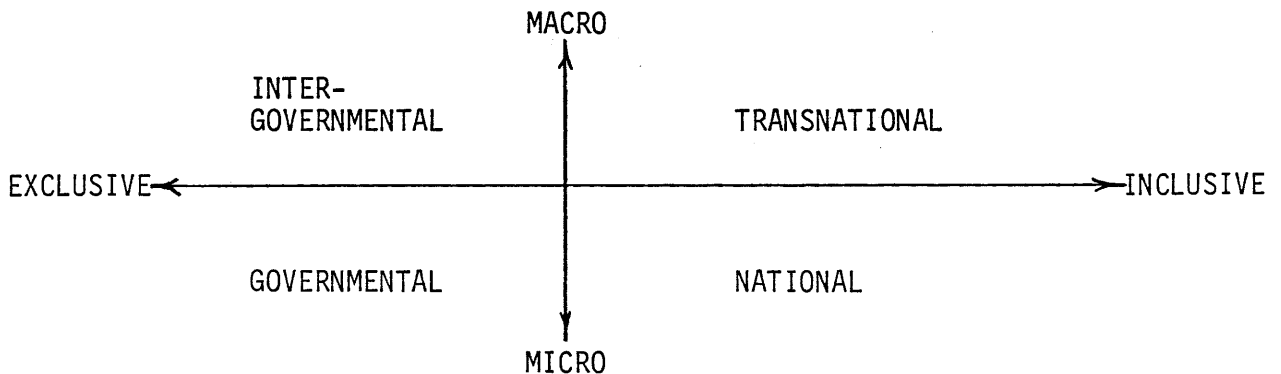




This range indicates the various sectors or contexts of politics from the all-inclusive one of the entire body-politic to the most exclusive one<sup>of</sup> high diplomacy. More will be said later about the detailed categories we are showing. All we need at this point is the broad dichotomy of the range into official and unofficial politics. This division corresponds to governmental and non-governmental sectors, which for us here form the most significant distinctions of the WPS. As far as we are concerned, political activities can be better understood if they are studied within these two domains. We shall, therefore, maintain this distinction to differentiate the structural components of the sectoral dimension of WPS.

3. The Political Field.

Using the two dimensions which we have outlined so far, we can now construct a two-dimensional field for the WPS. This is possible by placing the spatial dimension vertically and the sectoral dimension horizontally, cross-cutting each other in the middle, as the following diagram shows:



Evidently, what we have drawn here is a Cartesian field whose axes correspond to the x and y coordinates. The resulting four quadrants classify all political activities according to the geographical level and functional range in which they take place. Thus we have:

- 1) Transnational: unofficial-international affairs;
- 2) Intergovernmental: official-international affairs;
- 3) Governmental: official-intranational affairs;
- 4) National: unofficial-intranational affairs.

These four areas qualify all politics by designating the context of its operations. This classification is useful because it follows the traditional nomenclature of the field and also clarifies the possible arenas of political action.

In order to complete our taxonomy, we shall combine the above four areas into the following dyads:

- 1 & 2) International: transnational-intergovernmental relations;
- 2 & 3) Official: governmental-intergovernmental relations;
- 3 & 4) Intranational: governmental-national relations;
- 4 & 1) Unofficial: national-transnational relations.

These four permutations form the most significant contexts of the WPS, (the other two: 1 & 3 or 2 & 4, are not so common) thus we shall use them throughout this study.

## II. ACTORS

Now that we have set the stage of world politics, we move on to animate it with its principal actors. Since politics is an activity, it must be performed by somebody. This "somebody" designates many different kinds of actors: all the way from individuals to nations. In this chapter, we shall consider these various types of actors in the political scene by classifying them according to the context in which they operate and the authority they exercise. The following three sections will present three different groups of political actors and their location in the world arena.

### 1. The Protagonists.

Ultimately, the only political actors are human beings; because, per definition, politics is the human activity par excellence. Furthermore, politics is a social activity, so it requires the interaction of a number of people. This number varies from a few people in local politics to large masses in global affairs. The higher the spatial level of politics, the more necessary it becomes for the individual to operate within groups. Other than the very local level, then, people tend to aggregate in groups and act in a representative capacity for these groups.

When such groups reach a certain stability and permanence, they become institutionalized into the political system. In the contemporary world, there are many groups which have reached this stage. Of these, however, the most important for us are the following four types, classified according to context:

- 1) International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGO's):~2,300;
- 2) Inter-Governmental Organizations(IGO's):~300;
- 3) Sovereign State Governments (Gov'ts):~160;
- 4) National Associations (Assoc's):~100,000 (rough estimate).

INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS

SECTORS LEVELS	OFFICIAL	UNOFFICIAL
I N T E R N A T I O N A L	United Nations UNESCO ICAO ILO NATO WTO OAS ASEAN OPEC OECD  OAU EEC NORAD Commonwealth	International Political Science Assoc. International Chamber of Commerce Red Cross Rotary International Union of International Associations World Federation of Trade Unions World Veterans Federation International Institute for Peace International Law Association International Council of Scientific Unions International Federation of Journalists World Council of Churches IATA
I N T R A N A T I O N A L	USA USSR UK FRANCE CHINA INDIA CANADA GERMANY EGYPT INDONESIA BRAZIL NIGERIA MEXICO JAPAN SWEDEN	American Medical Association National Press Club Petroleum Association National Exporters Association Canadian Labour Congress AFL-CIO Canadian Manufacturers Association Teamsters Union British Trade Union Congress League for Penal Reform National Farmers Union National Council for Civil Liberties NAACP SPCA Quebec Bar Association

We can see from the above approximate figures that the official political institutions are only a few hundred, while the unofficial ones are many thousands. Normally, individuals act in the WPS through these institutions and as their spokesmen. In effect, world politics is the total of interrelations among the people who represent these groups. In the previous page, we have tabulated a relevant list of examples in each of the four political contexts.

## 2. Principal Organs.

The institutional actors which we have identified so far in the WPS interact through their human representatives. These people, however, are organized in various bodies of specialized functions. Large institutions group their members into various organs so as to facilitate their operation. Political institutions, such as the ones we mentioned, are thus composed of different structural components which correspond to their functions and jurisdiction.

We shall here choose the principal political organs of these institutions on the basis of two criteria:

- a) Functional: policy-relationship (legislative vs administrative);
- b) Authoritative: responsibility center (primary vs secondary).

That is to say, institutional organs may be divided as to how they contribute to collective decisions (making or executing them), as well as where they are situated in respect to the ultimate authority of the institution (principals or agents). Cross-cutting this double criterion, we have constructed the following classification table:

F \ A	PRIMARY	SECONDARY
DECISION- MAKING	1 Assembly Legislature	2 Council Cabinet
DECISION- IMPLEMENTING	3 Ministry Secretariat	4 Mission Delegation

Public institutions, especially official ones, have these organs as the indispensable performers of various political functions. All the institutions we have mentioned possess such operating agents which act in their name, under different titles: e.g.

- 1) Central Authority: Parliament; General Assembly; Senate;
- 2) Executive Committee: Council of Ministers; Presidium; Cabinet;
- 3) Permanent Office: Department of State; Foreign Ministry;
- 4) Field Post: Embassy; Agency; Diplomatic Envoy; Consulate.

As we shall see later on, these four types of institutional organs are in effect the main actor-surrogates whose activities dominate the WPS.

### 3. Interest Groups.

Although formal authority for public decision-making rests with official institutions, political power emanates from unofficial groups operating in the WPS. These groups represent various conflicting interests which they try to protect and promote by pressuring governmental institutions to adopt certain policies. Interest groups operate at all spatial levels where decisions are made; in this study, however, we shall investigate only those in the national and transnational arenas

Firstly, we look at the national interest groups, which as we have said run in the tens of thousands all over the world. This plethora of unofficial institutions, nevertheless, may be classified under four headings; listed here from the very specific and structured to the very general and loose:

- 1) Mass Media: Newspapers; Radio & TV; Information Agencies;
- 2) Political Parties: Right & Left wing factions or movements;
- 3) Pressure Groups: Associations; Societies; Clubs; Lobbies;
- 4) Citizen Body: Class strata; elites and masses; aggregations.

These institutions exist normally in all advanced national systems in different forms and numbers.

Since the transnational arena is an extension of the national, these groups may transcend the boundaries of their proper nations and carry their activities beyond. National borders, however act as filters which attenuate much of the transactions through them. Thus, we have only a few thousand such institutions of transnational extent. These operate either directly or through specialized organs in order to influence international policy making. Among them, we have discerned the following four significant types:

- 1) Lobbies: field offices of pressure groups attached to IGO's;
- 2) INGO's: permanent confederations of national associations;
- 3) Congresses: ad hoc conferences of national representatives;
- 4) Networks: informal continuing communication contacts.

Taken together, the above eight types of interest groups form the different centres of power in the unofficial sector of the WPS. They, along with governments and their organs, constitute the structural elements of politics. Their interrelations, both among themselves and with governmental institutions, are the sum total of world politics. The table in the next page gives some relevant examples in each category.

The table also shows a third category of institutions which we have termed Technoeconomic bodies. We have included these bodies in order to complete the picture of interest groups in society. As one can see in the table, we have classified these institutions under four categories, depending on the context in which they operate:

POLITICAL & ECONOMIC INTEREST GROUPS RELEVANT TO WORLD AFFAIRS

T R A N S N A T I O N A L	LOBBIES	Amnesty International Friends Service Oxfam
	INGO's	IFIAS: International Federation of Institutes of Advanced Studies. WFUNA: World Federation of United Nations Associations. IPRA: International Peace Research Association.
	CONGRESS	Club of Rome Trilateral Commission International Women's Year.
	NETWORKS	Oecumenical Movement Socialist International Military-Industrial Complex
N A T I O N A L	MEDIA	New York & Lond. Times Le Monde; L'Express; Newsweek Foreign Affairs; The Economist
	PARTIES	Christian-Democrat; Liberal Republican; Labour; Populist Communist; Conservative
	PRESSURE	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Political Action Coalition Ban-the-Bomb Movement
	CITIZEN	Citizens for Clean Energy National Planned Parenthood Voice of Women
T E C H N O E C O N	TNC's	IT & T; XEROX; INCO; IBM; EXXON American Express; General Motors; United Fruit CIBA; NESTLE; SHELL; SONY; BASF
	INTER	IFRB: International Frequency Registration Board UNICEF: International Childrens Emergency Fund ISBO: International Seabed Regime
	STATE	NASA; ACDA; CIDA; AIR CANADA; PETROCAN; TELEGLOBE PTT.
	CORPORATE	BELL; C.P.R.; Hudson Bay; Royal Trust; Brinks; Eaton's; Dominion.



- 1) Trans-National Corporations (TNC's): Multi-national Enterprises;
- 2) International Regimes: Supranational Service Agencies;
- 3) State Administrations: Para-governmental operating bodies;
- 4) Corporate Groups: Private Companies & Institutions.

Strictly speaking, these bodies are not part of the WPS. Rather, they belong to the socio-economic environment. Of course, they are related to politics through pressure groups and lobbies. Trans-National Corporations, for example, (of which there are about 7,000 in the world, controlling 27,000 national subsidiaries), influence public policies in the WPS through certain INGO's which have consultative status with IGO's. Similarly, private companies at the national level operate through their interest groups to affect legislation in their respective states.

In the governmental non-political context, there are the nationalized companies or industries which act through some government department or agency. The equivalent of nationalized industries in the international level is not yet reality. Such international regimes would come about when the exploitation of the seabed and space are given to the United Nations. Until then, this function is only indirectly performed by the technical aspects of existing Specialized Agencies.

With this exposition, we have now completed the general structures of the WPS and its socio-economic environment. All the elements of the model we have constructed so far will be summarised at the end of Part One in a synoptic diagram. Before we do that, however, we shall outline the detailed structure of the central organ of international policy-making in the next chapter.

### III. FORUM

On the basis of the system structure outlined in Chapter I and the various actors operating within it in Chapter II, we can now present the policy-making fora of the WPS. Although politics takes place in many contexts and institutions, its authoritative decision-making aspects culminate in a single type of arena which may be called the "conference." This Chapter will deal with the structural elements of the conference and analyse their relationships, thus completing our description of the WPS.

#### 1. Dimensions.

A conference is an orderly sequence of events in which political actors try to reach collective decisions. As such, the conference is a microcosm of the WPS because it is the ultimate forum of conflict resolution by political means. A conference must, therefore, reflect the political realities in the wider social system and by doing so legitimize their accomodation. In that sense, the conference is a central authority or primary decision-making body, as we have described in II-2.

Here, we shall make a structural analysis of the conference by using similar dimensional criteria as we did in constructing the WPS and its actors. The first criterion we have chosen for this taxonomy is the degree of order in the conference. According to this criterion, a conference is carried out between two poles of rigidity and flexibility or formality and informality. On that basis, we can distinguish two types of conference organs:

- a) Formal: strictly composed ceremonial authoritative bodies;
- b) Informal: loosely set functional work groups.

The second criterion depends on the degree of participation in the conference. That is to say, the basis of inclusiveness or exclusiveness on which the different organs of the conference operate. Accordingly, we will classify the various bodies of a conference in two basic types:

- a) Inclusive: Plenary bodies of automatic direct membership;
- b) Exclusive: Restricted organs of selective representation.

All institutionalized conferences are structured in such a way as to contain the above organs, because this structure has shown to be very effective in collective decision-making.

## 2. Conference Matrix.

Continuing in the same manner as that of Chapters I and II, we shall now use the two criteria established above as the two dimensions of the conference structure. This will be done by the orthogonal cross-cutting of the dimensions in a horizontal and vertical setting. As a result, we generate the following matrix:

O \ P	INCLUSIVE	EXCLUSIVE
FORMAL	Plenary Assembly	Select Committee
INFORMAL	Caucusing Group	Working Party

It is evident that this 2 x 2 matrix has given us a fourfold classification for the principal organs of political conferences. The four types are thus: (examples of which are given next page)

- 1) Assembly: the plenary meeting or committee-of-the-whole;
- 2) Committee: selected smaller representative specialized body;
- 3) Caucus: affinity group of a part of the membership;
- 4) Party: representative inter-group negotiating organ.

POLITICAL ORGANS OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

<p style="text-align: center;">P O</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">INCLUSIVE</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">EXCLUSIVE</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">F O R M A L</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">                     UNGA                      United Nations General Assembly                      UNCTAD                      Conference on Trade &amp; Development                      ESCE                      Conference on Security &amp;                      Cooperation Europe                      WARC                      World Administrative                      Radio Conference                      MBFR                      Mutual &amp; Balanced Force                      Reduction                      UNCLOS                      Conference on the Law                      of the Sea                      CIEC                      Conference on International                      Economic Cooperation                 </p>	<p style="text-align: center;">                     ECOSOC                      Security Council                      Commonwealth Consultative                      Committee                      Trade &amp; Development Board                      UNCOPUOS                      Committe on Peaceful Uses                      of Outer Space                      International Radio Consultative                      Committee                      SALT                      ILO's Governing Body                      UNESCO's Executive Board                      World Health Assembly's                      General Committee                      UNCITRAL                 </p>
<p style="text-align: center;">I N F O R M A L</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">                     Western Group                      Non-aligned Nations                      Group of 77                      Socialist Bloc                      Neutrals                      Arabs                      Landlocked Nations                      LDDC's                      NIC's                      Front-Line States                      Equatorial States                      Latin Americans                      Nordic Countries                 </p>	<p style="text-align: center;">                     US-SU Duopole                      The Big Five (Veto Powers)                      Paris Club                      Geneva Group                      Group of Ten                      Wise Men                      Treaty Drafting Group                      Ad Hoc Consultations                      Working Party                      Informal Contact Group                      Joint Negotiating Group                      Western Seven                      Establishment                 </p>

Obviously, we have chosen these conference components because we think that they are highly significant in the policy-making process of the WPS. Wherever they may arise, political influences finally end up for evaluation and resolution in this institutional node. It is here where conflicting interests are confronted and calculated, exchanged and accommodated so that some agreement is hopefully arrived at.

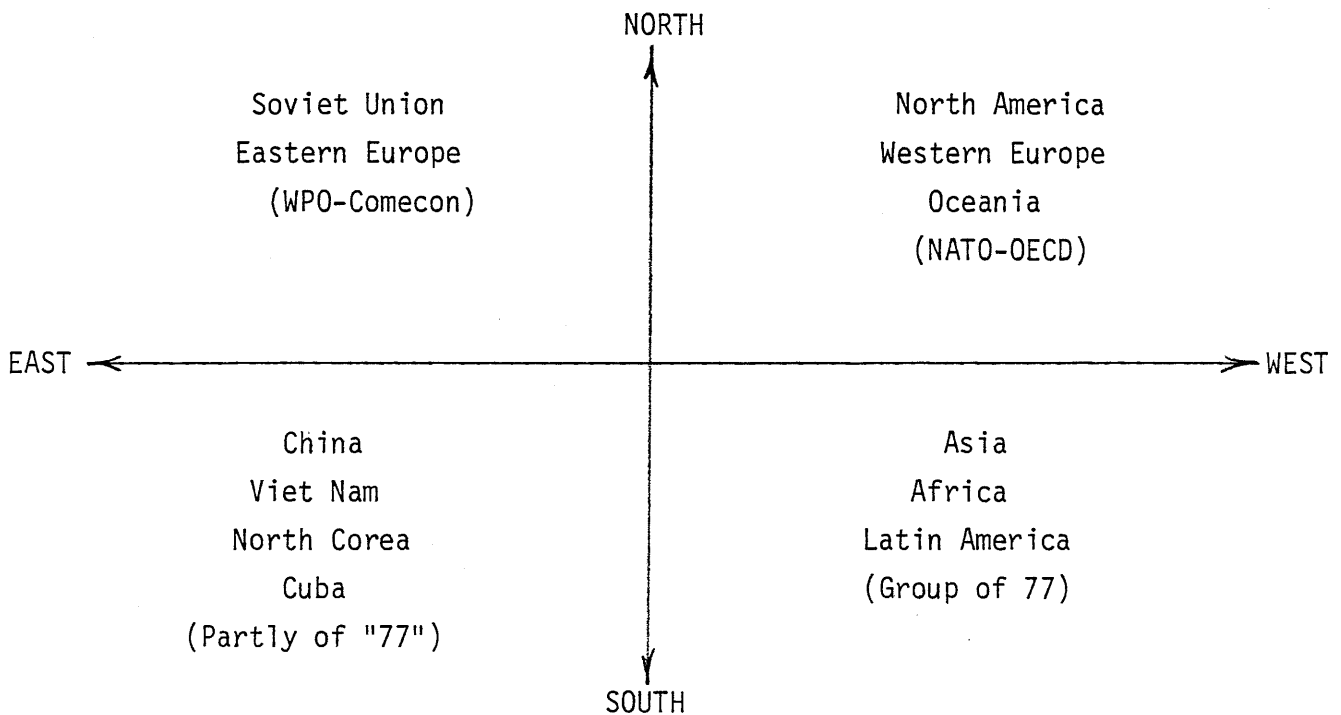
The details of this collective decision-making process will be given in Part Two of this study. All we are doing here is elucidate the structure of conferences as the central element of the WPS. As we shall see later on, conferences take place in many contexts (national and international; governmental and non-governmental) and for various reasons (legislative; consultative; educational; heuristic). By the mid 1970's, there were taking place about 1,500 conferences per year just at the IGO level and countless others elsewhere; so the importance of these meetings in the WPS is well established.

### 3. Group Structure.

As we mentioned before, politics is a group activity. As such, one would expect to find a lot of groups operating wherever there are political interactions. Since conferences are such places, groups become indispensable in the functioning of collective decision-making. This is more so in institutionalized conferences at higher levels of macropolitics, where state representatives act through various alliances and coalitions, both formal and informal.

At the broadest aggregation level the WPS is divided into two cross-cutting dichotomies:

- a) East-West: political-ideological division of socialist-liberal;
  - b) North-South: socio-economic division of industrial-agrarian.
- Macropolitical-intercontinental activities manifest themselves along these overlapping axes :



Along these broad lines, groups of states coalesce to strengthen their bargaining power and promote their common interests. On that basis, the world is said to be divided into three geopolitical areas: First World (North-West): Liberal-Developed (~25 countries); Second World (North-East): Socialist-Developed (~10 countries); Third World (South): Less Developed, LDC's (~125 countries). Of course, these worlds are not monolithic. Other than the smallest (Second), they are sub-divided into small groups which coalesce according to some permanent or temporary common interest. Most conferences of the WPS at the inter-governmental sector reflect and respect these connections and divisions as the major components of their structure.

We have now come to the end of our description and analysis of the structure of the WPS. The three chapters devoted to this task outlined the main elements in their context; so that by now, the reader must have

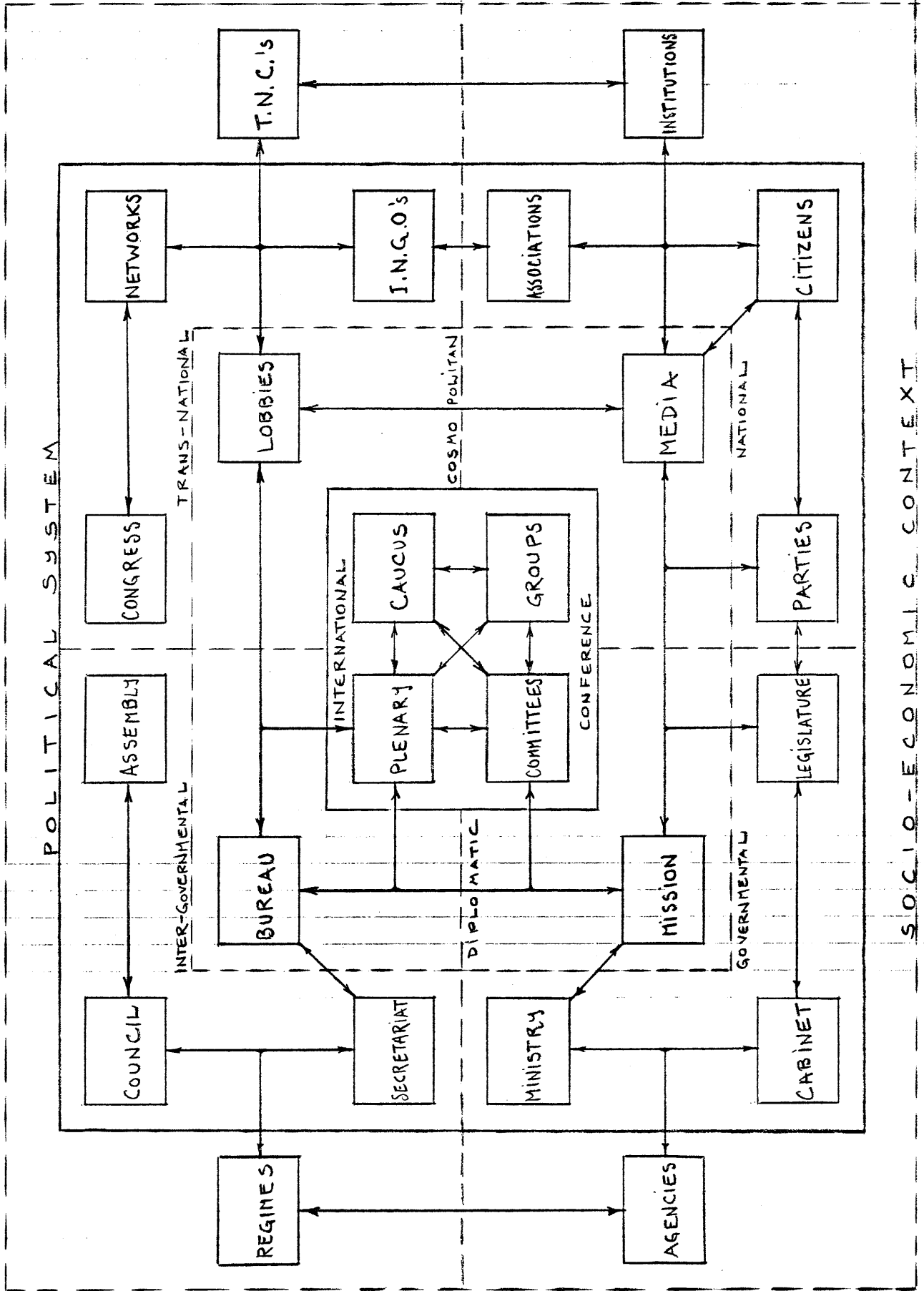
formed a good idea of this complex reality. In order to render these notions more visual, we have summarized them all together in a single synoptic diagram which appears in the next page. This diagram represents the structural model of the WPS as it was elucidated in this part of the study.

Although the model must be self-explanatory at this stage, we shall say a few words about it in relation to the text that preceded it. The large rectangle (solid lines) representing the WPS is clearly set within the outermost rectangle (dotted lines) of the socio-economic environment. In this latter, we can see the four types of structures which were explained in II-3. Within the WPS, one can distinguish the four quadrants introduced in I-3. In each one are to be found the principal organs of the political actors (Cf. II, 2 & 3). The intermediate rectangle (dotted lines) represents the diplomatic sub-system with its four centers of power (Bureaux; Missions; Lobbies; Media). Finally, the central rectangle is the conference structure, as explained in III, 1 & 2.

The arrows connecting the various boxes represent the main channels of communication integrating the system-components into a coherent whole. All arrows are two-ways to show the flow of information back and forth between all centres of power. Since information carries influence, the directional lines indicate the principal avenues along which political messages are conveyed. These influences are exchanged at the confrontation nodes within the various boxes, where decisions are taken by the different actors. Thus, the loci and foci of power are clearly drawn to illustrate the confluence and concentration of political activities in the world system.

Any model, of course, is a pale reflection of reality. But so long as it is recognized as such, it can be useful in enhancing our understanding of this elusive reality. It is in this spirit that the diagram should be interpreted along with the accompanying textual elaborations. This will, hopefully, set the stage for our analysis of political dynamics which follow in the next half of this study.

# WORLD POLITICS



II'81

STRUCTURAL MODEL

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT



## THE PROCESS OF WORLD POLITICS

Now that we have put together the elements which make up the WPS, we are ready to see how they work. As we have mentioned, the world is a dynamic system and politics is one of the activities that make it so. Politics is, thus, a way of activating or animating the social system and thereby bringing about social change. Of course, as a system, the world has some degree of order and stability; but this order is an ever changing one as a result of shifting forces and counter-balancing movements.

The political process is a sequence of events in which the actors of the WPS confront their conflicting interests for the purpose of accomodating them to each other. This accomodation is brought about through a complex calculus of power and interplay of influences, thus maintaining a system at a dynamic equilibrium. As we saw, the WPS is a loose, decentralized structure in which the interplay of forces goes on in many arenas at different levels. In order to simplify our task, we have focused on the global decision-making level, since it is the culmination of all the others. At this highest level, the political process determines the basic principles of international law, according to which the system operates.

In this Second Part of our study, we shall investigate how these rules are made in the WPS. This will be done by following the various stages of the political process at it transforms different inputs into common outputs. We are, thus, adapting the input-conversion-output model of systems theory to analyze the operations of the WPS. The following three chapters, shall deal with the forces that enter the WPS from its environment, the interaction which they undergo in it and finally the results emerging from this process. These results affect the environment and return as a feedback to affect the system once again, thus closing the process loop and commencing a new cycle. All this activitiy engages the institutions of our structural model in varying degrees, depending on how much influence they can bring to bear at any particular issue. As we shall see presently, this capacity is at the heart of the political process.

#### IV. POWER FACTORS

In this chapter we shall present the power inputs entering the international decision-making system. This system, according to our model, is at the centre of global politics and determines the rules of the game in world affairs. The inputs to that system follow three stages, corresponding to the three concentric arenas of our model: i.e. socio-economic; political; governmental. The following three sections will treat the interplay of forces in each arena.

##### 1. Environmental Sources.

All open-dynamic systems need some source of energy to maintain themselves. The Earth, ultimately, receives this energy from the sun. Our natural environment lives on this energy and in turn supports our social systems. Human societies exist by extracting energy and materials from nature and using them to fulfill our needs. The capability of social systems to perform these tasks depend on:

- a) Resource availability: existence of natural and human resources;
- b) Economic hardware: tools to transform resources into commodities;
- c) Social organization: technological skills and social values.

The possession and operation of these factors of power are unevenly distributed on this Earth. One finds some centres of power wielding a lot of influence, while others exert very little. At the stage in which the world system is actually, one can discern two types of social institutions which are able to concentrate and utilize great amounts of power:

- Territorially organized, multifunctional systems: i.e. nation-states;
- Functionally organized, non-territorial systems: i.e. TNC's.

Power - the capacity to do work or the ability to affect something - belongs to those who control national states or trans-national corporations. Of course, all states or corporations are not of equal power. There is a cardinal order of relative power in the world which includes both types of systems intermingled (of the 100 most powerful entities in the world, about one half are states and the other half corporations). Ultimately, it is the relationships and interactions among the most powerful of these institutions which determine the broad operating policies of the world system. The quantity (number) and quality(size) of world actors, therefore, comprise the basic independent variables of our political processes.

## 2. Political Factors.

The political process begins with certain pressures which enter the WPS from the socio-economic environment. People, acting through various institutions, make demands on the political system for an authoritative allocation of values and regulation of behaviour. The main purpose of the WPS is to create and maintain an optimal public order within which conflicting interests may be accommodated with a minimum of violence and a maximum of satisfaction. How successful the system is in attaining this objective depends on its collective decision-making capability.

Since the WPS is decentralized, most of the important decisions are taken by different groups of people in many institutional settings: national governments, private societies, IGO's and INGO's. These four different centres of power derive their authority from different institutions in the socio-economic environment in the form of various moral and material supports. Thus, corporations, through their control of economic resources, influence policies in national and transnational institutions; while governments, through their control of social resources, determine the policies of state and interstate organizations. The two sectors of political power (state and corporate or formal and informal), of course, are interrelated and interacting, so that decisions made in one affect the other.

These socio-economic sources of power are translated into political influence by the utilization of:

- a) Legitimacy: acceptance of legal authority by the community;
- b) Leadership: application of will-power to mobilize support;
- c) Sanctions: threat of violence and promise of rewards.

By a judicious mixture of these ingredients, political institutions are able to resolve conflicts and arrive at public policies. Since the WPS is subsystem dominant; most of the legitimacy, leadership and force still rest with state governments. IGO's derive their power largely from their member states and only supplement it with their coordinating abilities. Governments act or react according to the demands and supports of their constituents, either nationally or internationally. In the latter case, IGO's help coordinate such activities, thus minimizing frictions and conflicts which are inevitable in a complex, interdependent world.

### 3. Governmental Variables.

Since authoritative decision-making is a governmental preserve, all political influences finally concentrate in that sector. Wherever they might originate, power vectors must ultimately zero-in the policy-making organs of public institutions in order to be resolved. At the international level, these organs are dominated by diplomats and civil servants. They are the representative actors who shape international policies. Their influence on the WPS depends on:

- a) Position: state represented; seniority, key post; location;
- b) Personality: charisma; tact; charm; popularity; respect;
- c) Profession: skill; knowledge; expertise; ability; industry.

These individual qualifications supplement the institutional qualities we mentioned previously and together they determine the degree of one's influence in the policy-making process. Thus the most powerful state does not necessarily

have the most influence in all decisions of IGO's. Very often, smaller states exercise disproportionate influence because of the qualities of their diplomats. Similarly, international civil servants may exert a lot of influence as gate-keepers and information-bankers due to their central position in the inter-governmental communications network.

Although final decisions are taken at the national government level, diplomatic missions and international secretariats contribute significantly to that process by:

- a) Initiating action: bringing forth new ideas; innovation-catalysts;
- b) Communicating messages: exchanging <sup>in</sup>formation as go-between;
- c) Consensus-building: negotiating interests; making agreements.

Since unilateral decisions by "sovereign states" are no longer acceptable to the world system; multilateral decision-making has become indispensable to the orderly existence of the global society. For that reason, IGO's are called upon to make international policy at an increasing rate. It is in this juncture that diplomats and functionaries take on more importance because of their effective contribution to inter-governmental cooperation. Thanks to them, apparently incompatible national interests are conciliated and out of them emerges the common interest of mankind. This, in the final analysis, is the highest purpose of the WPS.

## V. DIPLOMACY

The environmental and systemic inputs outlined in the previous chapter enter the world of conference diplomacy for processing. International conferences serve as the fora in which socio-economic and politico-governmental variables are resolved or transformed into public policies by the diplomatic method. In this chapter, we shall look at the three principal aspects of this method as stages of the conversion process of the WPS.

### 1. Public Confrontations.

The decision-making process follows a loose sequence of events in which different positions converge into a common ground. This sequence begins with the preparation of positions by the governments of the parties involved in an issue. The social, economic and political factors which enter into play at any particular time are evaluated by the governmental organs of each state and the product becomes the tentative instructions to the mission at the international conference.

State missions or delegations present the initial position of their governments in the formal organs of the conference in the early sessions of these bodies. Plenary Assemblies and specialized committees take note of these positions for the public record and thus act as confrontation arenas of the opposing interests in the WPS. At the same time they receive background information from the conference secretariat, working papers from IGO's and draft resolutions from groups of states. These and other inputs (listed in the table later on in the chapter) form the basis of diplomatic negotiations among the parties of the conference.

The public debate in the formal sessions dramatizes the issues of international relations and generate mass media interest in world affairs (about 400 media correspondents are accredited to United Nations conferences in New York alone). Similarly, various other observers and consultative

status INGO's follow the proceedings and try to participate in the debate. The resulting controversy in the conference is thus reflected in the world at large and sets off various interactions which affect its outcome. Yet, these public activities, however important they may be, are only the visible side of the conference, which is a small part of the diplomatic process.

## 2. Private Consultations.

The formal process of international debates has been likened to shadow boxing, while the real substance of negotiations is carried out behind the scenes. Decision-making rarely takes place in large public bodies; rather it goes on in small informal groups operating away from the public light. It is in those confidential gatherings where influences flow freely and pressures are brought to bear among the different interest groups. The public never sees and official documents do not record what transpires in these crucial meetings where bargains are struck and compromises agreed upon.

Through informal consultations, diplomats attempt to convert public controversies into common agreements. This is done by:

- a) Exchange of information; problem-formulation and fact-finding;
- b) Identification of options; alternative policy packages;
- c) Recommendation of preferences; priorities of issue resolutions.

The successful performance of these activities requires great diplomatic skills as well as the underlying political will of the parties involved to reach agreement. The combination of these two ingredients can only be manifested in the consultations of international conferences, whereby it may be translated into public policies.

The consultative process, so indispensable to collective decision-making, is a complex activity which goes on in many levels:

- a) Intragovernmental: within mission; between mission & ministry;
- b) Intergovernmental: among delegations; within and between groups;
- c) Extragovernmental: between missions, IGO's, lobbies and media.

The interactive consultations among these groups should finally lead to some convergence. In this case, diplomats act as intermediaries between the national interests of their governments and the potential international agreement. The purpose of this activity is to take into consideration all relevant factors and positions so as to find the common denominator among them.

The institutionalization of caucusing groups and working parties in international conferences has facilitated consultations and thereby minimized the open confrontation of public issues. Differences can thus be dealt with quietly, avoiding the rhetoric and propaganda of public discourse. Without this diplomatic method, conferences would be little more than public spectacles.

### 3. Negotiated Consensus.

The principal objective of the consultative process is to reach negotiated settlement of international conflicts. In this sense, negotiations are a central part of diplomacy and supplement consultations in the search for interest accommodation. Negotiations are more formal than consultations, because therein mutual concessions are made and joint decisions are taken. The options worked out in consultations are finally reduced to the optimal one that is preferred by all parties. This requires some compromise by everyone, so that a consensual agreement is reached.

By now, most crucial matters in multilateral conferences are decided by consensus. This means without a formal vote, so long as there is no vocal opposition to the perceived agreement. In this way there are no winners and losers, no majorities and minorities; only a general will with various shades of satisfaction. Only symbolic or routine items are decided



by majority vote; substantive issues are either resolved consensually or not at all. This is because sovereign states will not execute decisions with which they disagree; unless such decisions are too unimportant to make a fuss about or circumstances beyond their control force them to do so.

Here of course, the opinion of all states is not equally important. The consent of the great powers is absolutely necessary for a collective decision to be worth anything; whereas that of smaller states may be dispensed with. All that the latter can do in this case is try to modify the consensus as much as possible in their favor by diplomatic acumen. If on the other hand, a minority of large states does not go along with the majority, the whole thing becomes deadlocked and the conference fails, unless some compromise is finally worked out.

If that happens, as a result of last minute consultations and negotiations, the produced informal agreement goes forth to the formal organs of the conference for official approval and public promulgation. The form of the agreement, of course, varies from the most innocuous communique to the strict legal instrument (Cf. list on the next page). As we shall see in the following chapter, these outcomes of international conferences, whatever their form, contribute in some way to building up a better world order.

ACTIVITY PHASES OF CONFERENCE DIPLOMACY

RECEPTION	CONVERSION	TRANSMISSION
<p>Terms of Reference                      Provisional Agenda                      Reports of Other Organs                      Requests for action                      Secretariat Reports                      Historical Reviews                      Working papers                      Background Documents                      Government views                      Draft provisions                      Draft Treaty                      INGO submissions                      Current news events                      Public opinion                      Member instructions                      Expert advise                      Future proposals</p>	<p>Rules of Procedure                      Adoption of Agenda                      Election of Officers                      Presidential Statement                      General Debate                      Establishing sub-organs                      Considering facts &amp; views                      Performing consultations                      Carrying out negotiations                      Accomodating interests                      Eliminating alternatives                      Consulting with INGO's                      Press Conferences                      Voting on issues                      Consensus building                      Striking bargains                      Adjourning session</p>	<p>On the record statements                      Taking note of events                      Noting with Satisfaction                      Expressing appreciation                      Recalling history                      Endorsing views of others                      Drawing attention to issues                      Submitting reports                      Proposing courses of action                      Requesting Secretariat to act                      Adopting resolutions                      Recommending certain things                      Press Releases                      Declaration of Principles                      Deciding to do something                      Forwarding Draft Treaties                      Publishing information</p>

## VI. INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Since the purpose of diplomacy is interest accomodation, the diplomatic process must lead to some consensual decisions. These decisions are in effect, international policies. In this last chapter, we shall look at these policies in three steps: on what legal basis they are made; what different kinds there are; and how do they affect the WPS. The following sections will treat each of these topics.

### 1. Legal Foundations.

The relationship between politics and law runs in two ways: the political process creates law, but this law feeds back into the political system to regulate and legitimize its operations. The WPS, therefore, both shapes and is shaped by international law. In this sense, legal rules are inputs as well as outputs of the decision-making process which we have outlined so far.

As inputs, laws define the jurisdiction of political institutions and authorize their activities. The central authority of the WPS is the United Nations Charter which states that: "The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of...promoting international cooperation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law..." (Art.13-1a). To supplement the work of the UNGA, the Charter empowers ECOSOC to "prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly" (Art. 62) and may call international conferences to prepare these treaties. Furthermore, the UNGA has established the International Law Commission, whose statute explains that "the progressive development of international law" means the "preparation of the draft conventions on subjects which have not yet been regulated by international law or in regard to which law has not yet been sufficiently developed in the practice of states." (Art.15).

These provisions are unequivocal in giving the organs of the United Nations the right to prepare international law and to induce national governments to accept new rules of behavior. Although, the WPS has no centralized legislature, the law-making function is performed by the probouleptic processes of international conferences and the ratifying actions of national legislatures. This political process is by now legally established and forms the foundation of world order.

## 2. Policy Classification.

The treaty-making capacity of the WPS is centered in but not exhausted by the work of the United Nations. Various Specialized Agencies explicitly provide in their constitutions for such function (WHO-19; ILO-19; UNESCO-IV FAO-IV). It is they, rather than the UN, which produce most of the conventional law. The ILO alone, for example, adopted about 150 conventions in its 60 years of existence; while at the same time the League of Nations and the UN concluded about 55 multilateral treaties.

Binding inter-governmental agreements, however, are not the only output of the WPS; nor do they constitute the only sources of world law. International policies are manifested in different forms of varying legal strength. On the one hand there are general treaties or charters and specific conventions or protocols; on the other hand there are declarations of principle and resolutions or recommendations. Accordingly, public policies may be classified on the basis of their generality and their legality. The combination of these two criteria gives us the following four types of policy (examples of which are given in the next page):

- a) Treaties or Conventions: general-legal instruments of positive law;
- b) Regulatory Rules: specific-legal procedures or detail by-laws;
- c) Solemn Declarations: general-moral principles of intention;
- d) Routine Resolutions: specific-policy recommendations of IGO's.

This classification shows in descending order the legal obligation attached to different international policies. The first two form part of positive international law; while the last two only contribute to the

INTERNATIONAL POLICY CLASSIFICATION

G L	SPECIFIC	GENERAL
M O R A L	United Nations for Peace Resolution (1950) Resolution Freedom of Outer Space (1962) UNGA Resolution on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1965) Middle East Resolution 242 (1967) UNGA Resolution on the Definition of Agression (1974) Final Document on Disarmament (1978) Routine Recommendations of various organs. Joint Press Releases Communiqués	Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries & Peoples (1960) Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons (1961) UNGA Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among states (1970) Declaration & Program of Action on the Establishment of a NIEO (1974) OECD Declaration on International Investment & Multinational Enterprises (1976)
L E G A L	The Antarctic Treaty (1959) Convention Against Discrimination in Education (1960) International Wheat Agreement (1962) Manila Accord (1963) Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963) Fisheries Convention (1964) Universal Postal Convention (1964) Treaty of Tlatelolco (1967) Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968) SALT I Treaty (1971) Universal Copyright Convention (1971)	United Nations Charter (1945) Bagdad Pact (1955) Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1964) International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights (1966) Convention on Treaty Law (1969) Charter of Economic Rights & Duties of States (1974) Treaty governing the Activities of States on the Moon & other Celestial Bodies (1980) Law of the Sea Treaty (1983)

evolution of customary international law. Moreover, the inverse order (d-c-b-a) of the above list, would indicate the successive stages in the law-making process in the WPS. Normally, INGO and IGO resolutions accumulate to prepare the ground for declarations containing all-inclusive principles of which the resolutions were a part. Subsequently, these declarations may be legalized by converting them into treaties out of which could come many different specialized agreements for detailed implementation of their principles (The dates accompanying the examples of the previous page indicate this sequence). In this way international practice eventually becomes customary law which is then codified into written legislation by the appropriate governmental organs. Multilateral conferences contribute to all these stages of policy-making.

### 3. Political Impacts.

The final stage in the policy-making process of the WPS is the individual acts by states to sign, ratify and implement the agreements which their representatives have made in international conferences. Collective decision-making must be upheld by individual executive action, if it is not to remain a dead letter. Thus the political process which begins at the national and transnational levels and culminates in the inter-governmental arena, ultimately returns for implementation to the nation-states or to IGO's.

This does not mean that all states must actively support international policies. In certain areas (WHO, WMO, ICAO), international rules, adopted by majority vote, come automatically into force for all states, unless a government specifically opts out by so notifying the IGO. Furthermore, certain international decisions are carried out by operating IGO's without the consent of all states. In these cases, international secretariats act as the executive organs of the WPS.

Nevertheless, most international policies, whether recommendations or treaties, still require implementation at the national level. Governments are territorial gate-keepers, whose cooperation is necessary for international policies to have any impact on society. For that reason international conferences usually provide for follow-up action to verify the extent of policy implementation by the parties. Very often, implementation requires governments to introduce national legislation in their own parliaments and make treaty provisions part of the law of the land. This is a long and complicated process, because it re-introduces the issue back into the national political arenas with all the uncertainties and delays concomitant to public decision-making.

For this reason, the implementation record of international policies is an uneven one. Of course, some states are better than others in this respect; but even the best of them would be very selective in which policies they choose to carry out and how far. Evidently, highly political issues have the greatest problems of implementation, whereas technical regulations are easily handled. In any case, international policies are effective to the extent that they reflect an optimal overlap between national interests and the common good. If the WPS operates successfully, its outputs and their impact will testify to that.

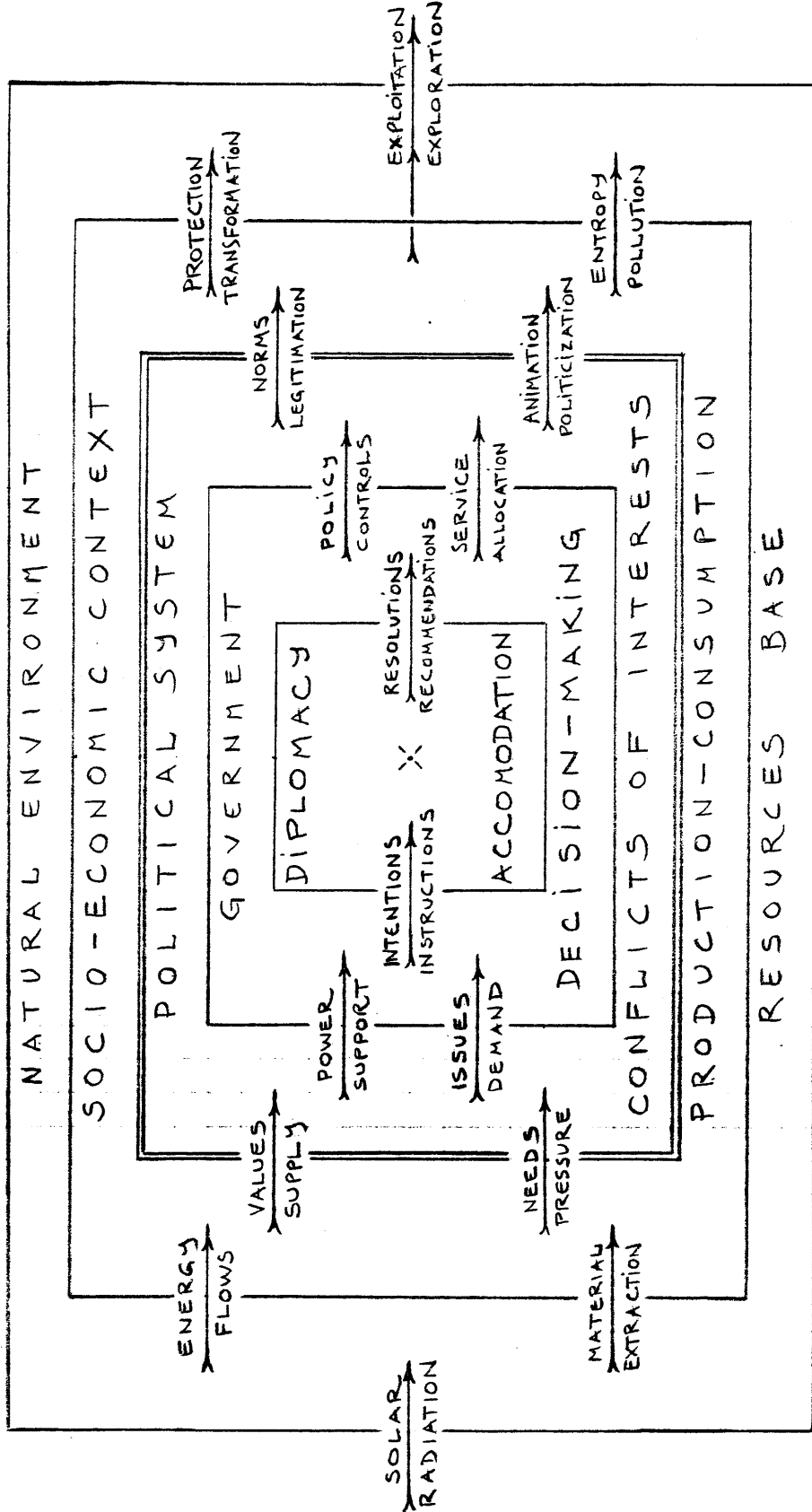
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We have now completed the exposition of the decision-making process in the WPS. This process, as we have seen, operates in an input-conversion-output manner between the system and its environment. The structures which were built in the first part of this study were thus put to work in the second part. Of course, both the structures and functions of our model are simplification of reality, but this unavoidable stylization has contributed to clarification without undue distortion.

In order to summarise the dynamic elements of the model presented in this part, we have drawn an input-output diagram which appears in the next page. This functional model complements the structural model at the end of the first part by emphasizing the procedural flows of influence in the system. The WPS (double-line rectangle) at the centre of

# WORLD POLITICS

OUTER SPACE



POTENTIAL

FUNCTIONAL

INPUT-OUTPUT

MODEL



diagram has arrows going in and out of it, indicating the main factors that affect it and the main impacts that it produces. Within the political system, the governmental sub-system contains the diplomatic sector which has focused our attention as the heart of international policy-making. Outside the political system, the socio-economic context receives the norms and impetus which give it direction and regulation. Thus, the political system acts as a cybernetic mechanism of social control and animation.

This diagram does not show the details of the structural model because it is only concerned with the overall factors and effects of the central components of the WPS. These broad inputs and outputs reduce themselves to the few basic elements we have highlighted. Thus human societies exist by transforming energy and materials supplied by nature into the necessary and desirable means of individual and collective fulfillment. In this conversion process, politics contributes the methods of conflict-resolution by building consensus around common values and goals. These latter, determine to a large extent how societies transform nature and the rate of entropy they infuse into the environment. How far and how fast our systems produce and consume goods and services will affect the resource base of the Earth and perhaps later on of outer space. It is in this process where the WPS is critically located as the legitimizer of human aspirations and the allocator of social values.

## CONCLUSION

We shall not here report the various conclusions which were reached throughout the study. What we will do is point out some of the most significant trends we have discerned in the WPS. The first one is so basic that it served as the central hypothesis of the study: i.e. that the world has become a single system in many respects, including the political. Of course, this system is still very loose and decentralized, but there are heavy trends which move it towards greater interdependence and higher complexity. As a result, coordination and cooperation become more and more necessary in the orderly operation of the system.

This does not mean that the WPS is developing into a centralized world government. Most likely, the evolution of the international system will not resemble that of national communities; the differences between macropolitical and micropolitical dynamics are too great to permit that. Probably, the global system will continue to develop in a multiform and poliocentric way which optimizes mutual control, reciprocal self-restraint and collective decision-making. Effective coordination will be attained by consensual, rather than authoritarian or unilateral policies. Coercive, hierarchical structures and processes are thus unlikely to be replicated above the nation-state level, because the system is too large to support them.

Barring a nuclear catastrophe, what can happen is that all states will become increasingly bound in the webs of IGO's, thereby limiting their so-called sovereignty. It has been estimated that the number of international organizations will double in this decade alone, thus increasing trans-national as well as intergovernmental coordination. These structural developments will be accompanied by the conceptualization of an internationalist ideology which will be the pragmatic

reflection of world order. This ideology of developmentalism supports the construction of a global society in which all peoples share in the commonwealth as a means of their local development. A more equitable distribution of this wealth will continue to be the central political issue of mankind; and the WPS will have to deal with it for years to come at all sectors and levels of society. It is for this reason that a better understanding of the structures and functions of politics is indispensable to concerned people everywhere.

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