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## CONTENTS

- State Power and the Structure of  
International Trade *Stephen D. Krasner* 317
- Failures in National Intelligence Estimates:  
The Case of the Yom Kippur War *Avi Shlaim* 348
- Hindsight and Foresight:  
A Conceptual Framework for the  
Analysis of Surprise Attacks *Abraham Ben-Zvi* 381
- Corporate Preferences and Public Policies:  
Foreign Aid Sanctions and Investment  
Protection *Charles H. Lipson* 396

### RESEARCH NOTE

- Bureaucratic Politics and the World Food  
Conference: The International Policy Process *Thomas G. Weiss*  
*and Robert S. Jordan* 422

### REVIEW ARTICLES

- Societal Manipulation in a Multiethnic Polity *John A. Armstrong* 440
- Law, Morality, and War after Vietnam *David P. Forsythe* 450

The Contributors ii

Abstracts iii

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

STEPHEN D. KRASNER is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is currently working on a study of raw materials policy.

AVI SHLAIM is a Lecturer in the Department of Politics and a member of the Graduate School of Contemporary European Studies at the University of Reading (England). He has co-edited and contributed to *The EEC and the Mediterranean Countries* (1976), and is the editor of *International Organisations in World Politics: A Yearbook*. At present he is working on a study of Israeli foreign and defense policies between 1967 and 1973.

ABRAHAM BEN-ZVI is a lecturer at the Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is currently preparing for publication a study analyzing American attitudes and policies toward Japan on the eve of Pearl Harbor, and is also working on a study of threat perception in various phases of bilateral conflicts.

CHARLES H. LIPSON is a doctoral candidate in political science at Harvard University. His dissertation examines U.S. investment protection policies in Latin America.

THOMAS G. WEISS, a former staff member at UNITAR, is presently a technical assistance adviser for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva. His major concerns have been with international politics and organization, and with peace research. His publications include *International Bureaucracy* (1975). ROBERT S. JORDAN is Director of Research at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, and holds an appointment as Professor of Political Science at SUNY-Binghamton. Among his books are *International Administration: Its Evolution and Contemporary Applications* (1971), *Multinational Co-operation: Economic, Social and Scientific Development* (1972), and *Political Leadership in NATO: A Study in Multinational Diplomacy* (forthcoming).

JOHN A. ARMSTRONG is Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), and author of *The European Administrative Elite* (1973) and *Ideology, Politics and Government in the Soviet Union* (3rd ed., 1974). He is now working on a study of the evolution of ethnic identity in multiethnic polities.

DAVID P. FORSYTHE is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Nebraska, and a visiting fellow at the Princeton Center of International Studies. He is the author of *United Nations Peacemaking* (1972) and *Humanitarian Politics—The International Committee of the Red Cross* (forthcoming).

## ABSTRACTS

### STATE POWER AND THE STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

By S. D. KRASNER

The structure of international trade, identified by the degree of openness for the movement of goods, can best be explained by a state-power theory of international political economy. This theory begins with the assumption that the nature of international economic movements is determined by states acting to maximize national goals. Four goals—aggregate national income, political power, social stability, and economic growth—can be systematically related to the degree of openness in the international trading system for states of different relative sizes and levels of development. This analysis leads to the conclusion that openness is most likely to exist when there is a hegemonic distribution of potential economic power. Time-series data on tariff levels, trade proportions, regional concentration, per capita income, national income, share of world trade, and share of world investment are then presented. The first three are used to describe the degree of openness in the trading system; the last four, the distribution of state power. The data suggest that the state-power theory should be amended to take into consideration domestic political constraints on state action.

### FAILURES IN NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES: THE CASE OF THE YOM KIPPUR WAR

By A. SHLAIM

The principal question which this article seeks to answer is: Why was the intention of the Arabs to launch the Yom Kippur War misperceived despite the fact that Israeli Intelligence had ample and accurate information on enemy moves and dispositions? In this anatomy of the Israeli intelligence failure, extensive use is made of the report of the official commission of inquiry that investigated the events leading up to the war. The article is equally concerned with the phenomenon of strategic surprise in general, and this case study is used to explore the psychological and organizational roots of intelligence failures. Some safeguards and institutional reforms for reducing the frequency of failure are examined. However, there is no suggestion that surprise can ever be eliminated altogether. In conclusion a case is made for developing a theory of intelligence through case studies and systematic research.

### HINDSIGHT AND FORESIGHT: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SURPRISE ATTACKS

By A. BEN-ZVI

As a step toward further conceptualization and differentiation of the problem of surprise attacks, this article suggests a new framework for analyzing the assumptions of decision makers. Two main categories are distinguished: (1) strategic assumptions of possibilities—the explicit and implicit assumptions held by an “observing state” about the conditions and circumstances under which the “observed state” would strike; (2) tactical assumptions of actualities—assumptions that have become realities in the eyes of the observing state, or that are on the verge of realization. Five cases of failures in intelligence estimates are discussed: (1) the Barbarossa Operation; (2) the attack on Pearl Harbor; (3) the Chinese Intervention in the Korean War; (4) the Sino-Indian Border War of October 1962; (5) the Arab-Israeli War of October 1973.

The analysis indicates that in each case, when discrepancies existed between tactical assumptions of actualities and strategic assumptions of possibilities, the latter prevailed without reassessment of the situation.

### CORPORATE PREFERENCES AND PUBLIC POLICIES: FOREIGN AID SANCTIONS AND INVESTMENT PROTECTION

By C. H. LIPSON

Since 1959 Congress has tried to protect U.S. direct foreign investments from expropriation by quite explicit amendments to various foreign assistance acts. Probably

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VOLUME ELEVEN

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NUMBER FOUR

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## Table of Contents

TENURIAL OBSTACLES TO INNOVATION	D.M.G. Newbery
POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: RURAL PUNJAB, 1960/61-1970/71	Indira Rajaraman
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PRODUCTION STRUCTURE OF THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN INDIA AND THE USA	A. Parikh
ESTIMATING THE SHADOW PRICE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE: AN ILLUSTRATION FROM INDIA	John C. Beyer
DETERMINANTS OF USE OF SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS BY DEVELOPING NATIONS	Danny M. Leipziger
INTERPRETING POLAK: MONETARY ANALYSIS IN 'DEPENDENT' ECONOMIES	Bruce R. Bolnick
PRODUCTION AND SUBSTITUTION IN TWO-GAP MODELS	Constantine Michalopoulos
THE INFLATIONARY ASPECT OF REPETITIVE DEVALUATION	Arturo C. Porzecanski
THE EMPLOYMENT OF FINANCE IN SMALL BUSINESS	Malcolm Harper
DISCUSSION THE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINS FROM TRADE AND INVESTMENT— REVISITED	H. W. Singer
BOOK REVIEWS	
INDEX TO VOLUME ELEVEN	

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the most important of these legislative efforts, the Hickenlooper amendment, the Gonzales amendments, and the effective repeal of the Hickenlooper amendment, are contradictory and have been applied only sporadically. By developing testable hypotheses that can accurately and parsimoniously predict these varied legislative and diplomatic policies, this article attempts to demonstrate the value of a radical analysis of American foreign policy. After those hypotheses are evaluated, they are compared with propositions derived from pluralist and bureaucratic analysis. Finally, the policy history is re-considered to show that changes in the external environment, particularly the rise of economically powerful nationalist regimes, have led to a significant evolution in the policy preferences of large multinational firms.

#### BUREAUCRATIC POLITICS AND THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE: THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY PROCESS

By T. G. WEISS and R. S. JORDAN

It is generally recognized that there are enormous difficulties, bureaucratic as well as political, that attend attempts to ameliorate human problems which arise from the growing interdependence of states. The policy challenge therefore is how to create—or alternatively, how to understand and then to reform—the existing machinery of international administration to enable it to cope with interdependence. The World Food Conference, held in Rome on November 5-16, 1974, was not only an exercise in *ad hoc* multilateral diplomacy designed to meet the immediate threats of the food crisis; it was also an attempt to rebuild the international food bureaucracy, either by replacing the Food and Agriculture Organization or by reforming it. The Conference largely succeeded in this task; it created a World Food Council, organizationally linked to the FAO in Rome, but separately responsible to the UN General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council. Thus, an examination of the leadership of the Secretariat of the World Food Conference provides a classic case for the study of bureaucratic politics: an international secretariat not merely indirectly influenced the shape of policy; it actually made policy.

#### SOCIETAL MANIPULATION IN A MULTIETHNIC POLITY

By J. A. ARMSTRONG

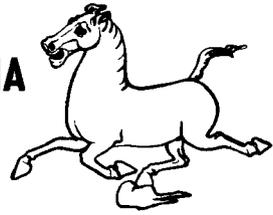
Five major Soviet books published during the early 1970's are examined comparatively, partly as examples of the continuing productivity of Soviet social science research. Utilizing approaches ranging from onomastics to regional geography and survey research, the books all examine how the Soviet Union has confronted modernization. All employ an extended historical perspective, and all deal at length with the multi-ethnic aspect of the Soviet polity. Survey data on ethnic attitudes in Latvia and the Ukraine and the theoretical and empirical analysis of the differences in urban and rural values among Russians and Tatars are especially interesting. Although all the authors adhere to Marxism-Leninism, their viewpoints differ significantly; some imply that, in important respects, outcomes of the Soviet modernization process are not very different from outcomes in Western societies.

#### LAW, MORALITY, AND WAR AFTER VIETNAM

By D. P. FORSYTHE

Part of the problem in devising effective law for the regulation of war is the difficulty of securing a stable combination of expediential and moral concerns. In law to regulate recourse to war (*jus ad bellum*) and intervention, important actors in world politics seek to make moral exceptions to, or moral changes in, a law oriented to the self-interest of states. As a result, there are claims to "just wars" and humanitarian interventions. Likewise, law to regulate the process of war (*jus in bello*) is based on a combination of moral and expediential values, with the two sometimes in tension. An interplay of these two concerns is also found in applications of international law to internal war and to individuals responsible for acts in war. Although the search for an acceptable combination of expediential and moral values is a difficult one, expediency alone—in the form of national interest—cannot provide a basis for effective law to regulate war.

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