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## THE CONTRIBUTORS

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## ABSTRACTS

### COOPERATION UNDER THE SECURITY DILEMMA

By R. JERVIS

International anarchy and the resulting security dilemma (i.e., policies which increase one state's security tend to decrease that of others) make it difficult for states to realize their common interests. Two approaches are used to show when and why this dilemma operates less strongly and cooperation is more likely. First, the model of the Prisoner's Dilemma is used to demonstrate that cooperation is more likely when the costs of being exploited and the gains of exploiting others are low, when the gains from mutual cooperation and the costs of mutual noncooperation are high, and when each side expects the other to cooperate. Second, the security dilemma is ameliorated when the defense has the advantage over the offense and when defensive postures differ from offensive ones. These two variables, which can generate four possible security worlds, are influenced by geography and technology.

### COMPULSION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: IS AUTHORITARIANISM THE SOLUTION TO INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS?

By F. R. FRANKEL

The view of critics like Myrdal that a solution to problems of mass poverty requires sweeping changes in established cultural attitudes and institutions which cannot be carried out through democratic methods remains influential in India among intellectuals and radical political parties. Yet, a frontal assault on the existing social order would delay or abort basic economic reforms by fragmenting large numbers of the poorer classes along more potent allegiances to religion, language, and caste. An alternative solution can be devised based on the distinction between *direct* and *indirect* obstacles to economic development which are part of the social setting. Direct constraints are found in patterns of land ownership and land tenure. By contrast, the cultural attitudes, caste structures, and power relations are indirect obstacles in the sense that they strengthen ideological and political patterns that stand in the way of agrarian reform. Under Indian conditions democratic rather than authoritarian institutions offer the best prospect over the long term for carrying out basic economic changes. They strengthen egalitarian values and provide an opportunity for direct organization of the more numerous lower castes to weaken both the legitimacy and power of the dominant landed castes—without risking the social disorder of a direct confrontation.

### ANARCHY AND SOCIAL CHOICE: REFLECTIONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL POLITY

By O. R. YOUNG

The concept "social choice" provides a means of injecting new life into systemic analyses of the international polity. Bargaining, organized warfare, and coercive diplomacy are the most important mechanisms of social choice in the international polity. Third-party settlement is of lesser importance, though not irrelevant. Each of these mechanisms is evaluated in terms of criteria such as decisiveness, efficiency, justice, and the production of externalities. Systems of rights and rules serve to constrain processes of social choice, but they are also apt to become focal points of such processes themselves.

## Quest for Equilibrium

America and the Balance of Power on Land and Sea

*George Liska*

Writing from the perspective of the late 20th century, when the United States in the aftermath of Vietnam is disengaging from empire, George Liska examines realistic alternatives for foreign policy especially with regard to such crucial areas of concern as the balance of power in the Middle East. This penetrating assessment of the various phases and concepts of equilibrium and the related quest for parity among the great powers is founded on a thorough grasp of the historical roots of American foreign policy and a refreshingly unorthodox insight into its present dynamics.

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*Julius Stone*

An eminent scholar of international law examines the significance of the so-called Consensus Definition of Aggression for the cardinal strategic, political, economic, and ideological issues that at present pervade and divide the international community. He analyzes in detail assessments made on both well-publicized power struggles (the Middle East, Vietnam, Pakistan, Biafra, Angola, Lebanon) and on incidents that barely captured the headlines. The present phase of tyranny of "automatic" majorities in the General Assembly, Stone warns, creates unprecedented dangers for some member states and calls into question the very legality of its proceedings.

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## Humanitarian Politics

The International Committee of the Red Cross

*David P. Forsythe*

Since World War II the ICRC has obtained access to more than 400,000 detainees in over 70 countries of the world and has played a mediating role in crises ranging from hijackings and political kidnappings to civil wars and natural disasters. The product of over five years of research on five continents, this book is the first serious independent evaluation of the organization. Forsythe covers in depth the committee's concern for prisoners of war (Vietnam, Algeria), for political prisoners (Greece) and for civilians endangered by armed conflict (the Middle East). \$17.95

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Ecuador, 1948-1966

*John Samuel Fitch*

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## URBAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

By H. BIENEN and M. N. DANIELSON

Because many aspects of urbanization are similar in different societies, urban politics provides a rich opportunity for comparative analysis. Most urban political studies tend to focus on government rather than politics. In the case of the books under review, however, political variables are offered as the key to understanding. Anton's work on Stockholm, Baker's on Lagos, Cohen's on Abidjan, Cornelius's on Mexico City, Elkin's on London, Fried's on Rome, Taubman's on cities in the U.S.S.R., and Wolpe's on Port Harcourt share a concern with the ability of political systems to deal with forces of urban growth and change. Studies of industrial countries try to account for the ability of systems to develop policies that control the urban environment, while studies of developing countries attempt to analyze patterns of resource distribution, social mobility, and class formation. Despite their flaws, gaps, and manifold differences, these studies are important steps in the right direction.

## RATIONALIST THEORIES OF POLITICS: A MIDTERM REPORT

By R. ROGOWSKI

Rational-choice theories of politics have gained acceptance rapidly and may soon dominate the field. Their popularity is due in part to their real successes, which can be demonstrated in several areas, and to their hypothetical-deductive structure. But some students, in their eagerness to embrace what is by now a theoretical fad, have either ignored inconvenient facts or weakened the theory to fit them. Both the promise and the risk are demonstrated by reference to recent works by Mayhew, Niskanen, Rabushka and Shepsle, and de Swaan.

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