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ABSTRACTS

THE BIOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE STATE

By R. D. MASTERS

The origin of the state, long at the center of political science, can be greatly illuminated by the contemporary approach in evolutionary biology known as "inclusive fitness theory." Natural selection is now analyzed using cost-benefit models akin to rational actor models in economics, game theory, and collective choice theory. The utility of integrating these approaches is illustrated by using the Prisoner's Dilemma and the Tragedy of the Commons to outline a general model for the evolution of political and legal institutions. This perspective also shows how traditional political philosophers explored "archetypical" problems that are easily translated into scientific terminology. It is thus possible to link biology to the study of human behavior in a nonreductionist manner, thereby generating new empirical hypotheses concerning the environmental correlates of social norms. Ultimately, such a unification of the natural and social sciences points to a return to the classical view that law and justice are not matters of pure convention, but rather are grounded on what is right "according to nature."

PROBLEMS OF PROLIFERATION:

U.S. POLICY AND THE THIRD WORLD

By R. F. GOHEEN

The issue of nuclear proliferation is replete with problems to which there are no sure-fire solutions. In this essay, this troublesome terrain is examined in three different but complementary ways: first, through case studies of the nuclear dealings of the U.S. with India and Pakistan; second, in a broad review of incentives toward and dampers on the spread of nuclear weapons; and third, in terms of implications for national policy.

ASSESSING STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION PROPOSALS

By M. KREPON

A number of options were available to the Reagan Administration for achieving the President's stated objective of deep cuts in nuclear weapons. However, various deep-cut proposals can have dramatically different prospects of being negotiated successfully, as well as varying impacts on strategic and crisis stability. Moreover, some arms reduction proposals may not be compatible with programs to accentuate nuclear war-fighting capabilities, another objective of the Reagan Administration. In rejecting the SALT II framework for reductions, the Administration set aside a relatively quick way to achieve reductions, although not of the kind championed by the President. Instead, a more ambitious approach was chosen—but one that has provided few positive incentives for the Soviets to reach agreement. If the U.S. position is seriously held, the prospect is for lengthy, acrimonious, and inconclusive negotiations.

CORPORATISM, PLURALISM, AND PROFESSIONAL MEMORY

By G. A. ALMOND

Organizing Interests in Western Europe is part of the third wave of interest group studies to appear since the development of professional political science at the turn of the century. The first wave was mainly an American phenomenon; the second an effort to export interest group studies to Europe and elsewhere as part of a movement intended to encourage greater realism and less ideology in European and comparative political studies. The *Organizing Interests* team has produced a useful book focused in substantial part on the theme of neocorporatism. The authors have not connected their work with the substantial body of earlier interest group research.

CONTINUITY AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE WORLD POLITY: TOWARD A NEOREALIST SYNTHESIS

By J. G. RUGGIE

Kenneth Waltz's recent book, *Theory of International Politics*, is one of the most important contributions to international relations theory since his *Man, the State and War*. It picks up where the earlier work left off: with the structure of the international system serving as the basis for explaining a variety of international outcomes. The most profound and perhaps the most perplexing outcome Waltz attempts to explain is the lack of fundamental change in the international polity. The author argues that Waltz does not fully succeed in this endeavor for three reasons. First, his definition of structure fails to capture so momentous a change as that from the medieval to the modern international systems. Second, his application of the structuralist method leads him to ask questions in such a way that the answers systematically understate the degree of potential change in the contemporary international system. Third, his model of structural explanation turns out to allow only for a reproductive logic but not for a transformational logic. With the epistemological underpinnings of his theory thus biased against the possibility of change, it is not surprising that Waltz finds the likelihood of future continuity compelling. In the spirit of constructive criticism, this review article tries to amend and augment the theory in a manner that is not incompatible with its basic realist precepts.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE 1980S: REVOLUTIONARY GROWTH OR UNANTICIPATED EROSION?

By R. C. JOHANSEN

All people are entitled to share human rights equally. Claims to respect rights may—indeed often must—be made against “foreign” governments and peoples as well as one’s own. As interdependence deepens, more human rights problems require global solutions; yet sovereignty inhibits cooperation. Thus the present international system impedes advancement of human rights. Even within countries, tensions are growing between human rights and national sovereignty because governments can no longer fulfill traditional functions. To prevent a decline in human rights caused by the rising incongruity between the few who make decisions nationally and the many who are affected by them globally, individuals, private organizations, and intergovernmental institutions must play an expanded role in shaping foreign policy making within a new framework of human rights.