

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00541-9 - The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective

Bear F. Braumoeller

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

- Activity, security-related, 37–39, *see also* individual countries
 - American, at end of Cold War, 151–152, 185, 191
 - American, in interwar period, 140–146
 - And power, 65–66
 - Effects of, 38–39, 44–45
 - Forecasts, 198–200
 - Idea of, 36
 - Interactive vs. regulatory, 39, 69–70
 - Definitions, 39
 - Operationalization of, 86–89
 - Regulatory, 70–79
 - Soviet, at end of Cold War, 191
- Afanasiev, Yuri, 167
- Afghanistan, 176–177, 185, 197–198
- Agent-Based Models (ABMs), 12, 15
- Agent-Structure Debate, 3–10
 - Amelioration of, 7–10
- al Qaeda, 196
- Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, 117
- Alexander II, Tsar of Russia, 104
- Alexander III, Tsar of Russia, 104
- Alperovitz, Gar, 78
- American isolationism
 - Explained by nested politics model, 132–133
- Andreyeva, Nina, 165–166, 173
- Andropov, Yuri, 150n123, 153–154, 160, 162n150, 162, 169, 177
- Arbatov, Georgi, 153, 169
- Aron, Raymond, 6, 55
- Arrow, Kenneth, 33
- Axelrod, Robert, 12, 15
- Baker, James, 187–188, 190
- Balance of power theory, 14, 17
- Bargaining, 36
- Battle of the Atlantic, 146
- Belgium
 - Revolution of 1830, 129–130
- Bentinck, Lord William, 116–117
- Berinsky, Adam, 143
- Berlin Wall, 103, 112, 151, 185
- Berlin, Convention of (1833), 131
- Bertalanffy, Ludwig von, 11
- Bismarck, Otto von, 1, 2n3, 5, 71, 75, 81
- Black, Duncan, 33
- Bohr, Niels, 194
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 9
- Borges, Jorge Luis, 28, 79
- Braumoeller, Bear, 19, 57, 82, 202, 209
- Bremer, Stuart, 12n44, 15
- Brezhnev Doctrine, 151, 180–183
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 154, 161n148, 162
- Brown, Archie, 159, 174
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, 211
- Bull, Hedley, 10n37, 16, 80
- Bush, George H. W., 112, 185, 189–190
 - “Chicken Kiev speech” of (1989), 189
- Bush, George W., 197
- Butterfield, Herbert, 51
- Buzan, Barry, 13
- Campbell, David, 65
- Canning, George, 82, 119, 121–128
 - And public opinion, 122–123
- Carlsnaes, Walter, 14
- Carlyle, Thomas, 1n2, 1, 9, 212
- Castlereagh, Viscount, *see* Stewart, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh
- Causal mechanisms, 67n93
- Ceausescu, Nicolae, 182
- Cerny, Philip, 4
- Chebrikov, Viktor, 163
- Checkel, Jeffrey, 62, 149
- Chernenko, Konstantin, 162, 177, 180

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00541-9 - The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective

Bear F. Braumoeller

Index

[More information](#)

270

Index

- Chernyaev, Anatoly, 2, 151, 163n153, 163, 166n159, 167, 169, 174, 176, 191
- Chiffon de Carlsbad*, 130
- Chikin, Valentin, 165
- China, 208–209
- Rise of, 202–204
- Worldviews of, 202
- “Circular flow of power,” 35, 202
- Clarke, Kevin, 29
- Clinton, William J., 192
- Cobden, Richard, 55
- Cold War, 10, 21
- End of, 147–193
- Failure to forecast, 210
- Predictability of, 210–211
- Prerequisites, 150
- Structure of international system in, 148–149
- Cold War System, 77–79, 148–149, 212
- Condorcet, Marquis de, 32, 33n33
- Constituency, 40, *see also* individual countries
- And “circular flow of power,” 35, 202
- In Soviet Union, 150, 157–160
- Definition of, 35
- In Nazi Germany, 137
- Preferences of, 30–32, 103–104
- Aggregation of, 32–35, 41
- And preferences of leaders, 103–108
- Constructivism, 18, 30, 57–59, 62, 65
- And balances of power, 57–59
- Copeland, Dale, 14n54
- Correlates of War project, 8, 66
- Cournot-Nash model, 36
- Dawes Plan, 84
- Democracy
- And peace, 74
- And power, 65
- And war, 63, 116
- “Democratic efficacy” school, 65
- Democratization, 204–206, 208
- Denisov, Vladimir, 165
- Dessler, David, 7n25
- Deterrence theory, 18
- Deterrence vs. defense, 196
- Deutsch, Karl, 6, 15
- Dewey, Thomas, 145
- Dispositional vs. situational causes of behavior, 1–2, 7–9
- Dobrynin, Anatoly, 163n153, 163
- Eastern European revolutions of 1989, 189–190
- Easton, David, 6n19
- English, Robert, 149, 152
- Equation-Based Models (EBMs), 12, 15
- Etzioni, Amitai, 10n37
- Expert survey, 86–87
- Reliability of, 88–89
- Validity of, 89
- Failed states, 196
- Fascism, 74
- Fearon, James, 57
- Feis, Herbert, 78
- Finer, S. E., 64
- Fleming, D. F., 78
- France
- Fall of, 102
- Fall of (1940), 142, 144–145
- July Revolution (1830), 128
- French Revolution, the, 9
- Gaddis, John Lewis, 132, 157n140
- Gates, Robert, 190
- Geertz, Clifford, 62
- General Systems Theory, 11
- Gerasimov, Gennadi, 191
- Germany
- Armed forces, size of, under Versailles Treaty, 134
- Constituency of, under Hitler, 137
- Material and territorial losses of, under Versailles Treaty, 135
- Rearmament of, 137–140
- Reichstag election (1930), 133
- Giddens, Anthony, 4, 7, 10n37
- Gilpin, Robert, 14n54, 57, 65, 204
- GLOBUS project, 12n44
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 35, 102, 112, 149–183, 185–193, 210, 212
- And “Reasonable Sufficiency,” 103
- “New Thinking” of, 102, 212
- United Nations speech (1988), 174, 176, 178–179, 182, 187
- Gourevitch, Peter, 63
- Grachev, Andrei, 156, 163, 181
- Great Depression, the, 133
- Great Powers, 79–82
- Criteria, 80–81
- Greece
- War of Independence, 122, 124, 126–128

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00541-9 - The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective

Bear F. Braumoeller

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

271

- Grishin, Viktor, 163
 Gromyko, Andrei, 162–163
 Guetzkow, Harold, 12n44
- Hall, Peter, 4
 Hegemony
 And war, 57
 Herz, John, 61
 Hezbollah, 196–198
 Hinsley, F. H., 70
 Hintze, Otto, 63
 Hitler, Adolf, 64, 74, 133–137, 140–142, 146, 193
 And *realpolitik*, 136
 Worldview of, 134–137
 Hobbes, Thomas, 16
 Holsti, Kalevi, 6
 Holy Alliance, 9
 Honecker, Erich, 184n211
 Horn, Gyula, 183
 Hugenberg, Alfred, 134
 Hunt, Michael H., 206
- Ideology
 Balance of, 18, 20, 23–24, 45, 195
 In Cold War System, 77–78
 In interwar period, 73–75
 In late Cold War, 176–185
 In Vienna System, 72–73
 Operationalization of, 85–86
 Definition, 72
 Distribution of, 204–206
 Ikenberry, G. John, 39, 195
 IMEMO, *see* Soviet Union – Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO)
- Institutionalism, 15
 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty (1987), 155, 178, 185, 187
 International relations theory
 And systemic theory, 12–15
 Paradigms debate, 20
 International Telecommunications Union, 8n28
 Interwar period, 73–77
 Structure of international system in, 132–133
 Interwar System, 212
 Iran, 196, 197n12, 199
 Iraq, 196
- ISKAN, *see* Soviet Union – Institute of the USA and Canada (ISKAN)
 Isolationism, American, 2, 21, 112, 132–147, 212
 As systemic phenomenon, 147
 End of, prior to Pearl Harbor, 147
 Myth of, 82
 Isomorphisms, 11
 Israel, 196
- Jaruzelski, Wojciech, 189
 Jervis, Robert, 61
 Johnston, Iain, 62
 Jones, Charles, 13
 July Revolution, in France, 101
- Kaplan, Morton
 System and Process in International Politics, 13
 Karmal, Babrak, 176
 Kennan, George, 8
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 35, 152, 153n128, 153, 158, 164
 Kirilenko, Andrei, 162
 Krasner, Stephen, 198
 Kugler, Jacek, 14n54, 18, 57
 Kydd, Andrew, 149
- LaFeber, Walter, 78
 Lake, David, 24n3
 Leaders, state, *see also* individual countries
 Decision calculus of, 35–37
 Preferences of
 And preferences of constituencies, 103–108
 League of Nations, 73, 82, 102
 Lebanon, 197
 Leffler, Melvyn, 149
 Leffler, Melvyn P., 78
 Legitimacy (ruling principle)
 Definition, 72–73
 Lenin, V. I., 74, 78
 Lenin, Vladimir, 171–172
 Levels of analysis
 Connecting, 38
 Liberalism (IR paradigm), 30, 32
 Liberalism (political ideology), 73–75, 77, 104
 Perceived dangers of, in Vienna System, 72
 Ligachev, Yegor, 162–163, 165–166

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00541-9 - The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective

Bear F. Braumoeller

Index

[More information](#)

272

Index

- Lippmann, Walter, 206n26
 Little, Richard, 9, 13
 London, Treaty of (1827), 127
 “Lost Year,” in Soviet Union, 2
 Lundestad, Gier, 149
- Malta summit (1989), 190–191
 Marx, Karl, 1n2, 1, 9, 16, 212
 Marxism, 78n27, 78, 169n172, 177
 Marxism-Leninism, 161, 186
 Mathematical models
 Complexity vs. parsimony of, 28–29
 McKelvey, Richard, 33
 Mearsheimer, John, 15, 18, 53, 61, 95
 Metaphoric hypertrophy, 15
 Metternich, Prince Klemens von, 116–117,
 121, 123, 127, 130
 Monroe Doctrine, 82
 Moravcsik, Andrew, 64
 Morgenthau, Hans, 8, 45, 61, 77, 90
 MOSUM (Moving Sum of Residuals) test,
 109–111
 Mueller, John, 199
 Münchengrätz, Treaty of (1833), 131
 Mussolini, Benito, 75
- Najibullah, Mohammad, 176
 Nationalism
 Instrumental vs. primordial identities
 in, 62–63
 NATO, 8n28
 NATO Alliance, 192
 Navarino Bay, Battle of (1827), 127
 Neoliberalism, 8
 Nested politics model, 16–18, 21–24,
 29–43, 54
 Advantages of, 18–21
 And “Butterfly effects,” 201, 207
 And interwar American isolationism,
 132–133, 147
 And paradigms debate in IR, 20
 And second-order effects, 59–66
 And structural change, at the end of the
 Cold War, 186–187
 And the end of the Cold War, 152,
 192–193
 And the Vienna System, 132
 Balance of ideology in, *see* Ideology
 Balance of power in, *see* Power
 Causal mechanisms of, 113
 Components, summarized, 40
- Constituency in, *see* Constituency
 Data used to test, 82–89
 Expert survey, *see* Expert survey
 Strength of instruments, 94
 Dynamic nature of, 41
 Equilibration in, 36–37
 Essential to understand historical case
 studies, 193
 Falsifiability of, 20
 General hypotheses, 90
 Hypotheses derived from, 43–47
 Implications of, for forecasting, 209–211
 Logic of, 17–18, 29–39, 112, 194
 Power in, 42
 Predictions of, 22, 98–103, 194–211
 Challenges of forecasting, given
 systemic nature of, 194
 State activity in, *see* Activity
 Statistical test of, 21, 90–95
 Diagnostic checks, 103–111
 Systemic implications of, 45–47
 Two-stage explanation of conflict, 19
 Worldviews and, *see* Worldviews
- Nicholas I, Tsar of Russia, 75, 101, 130
 “Night of the Long Knives,” 137
 North, Douglass C., 4
 Nutmeg, distribution of, in 17th century, 6
 Nye, Senator Gerald, 143
- “Open Door” policy, 78
 Opportunity and willingness, 73, 195, 202
 Organski, A. F. K., 14n54, 18, 57
 Orlov, Yurii, 153
- Pakistan, 197
 Palmerston, *see* Temple, Henry John, 3rd
 Viscount Palmerston
 Partial adjustment models, 18, 21
 And adjustment costs, 26–27
 And contemporaneous coadjustment,
 28
 And historical evidence, 27–28
 And model uncertainty, 27
 And the end of the Cold War, 185
 Test of, 96–98
 Pearl Harbor, 102, 132, 147
 Plott, Charles, 33
 Poland
 Partitions of, 117
 Revolution of 1830, 130
 Solidarity movement, 183

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00541-9 - The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective

Bear F. Braumoeller

Index

[More information](#)

Index

273

- Polarity
 - And war, relationship not simple, 19
- Polity
 - project, 8
- Ponomarev, Boris, 163
- Power
 - Absolute levels, as focus of attention in
 - 20th century, 76
 - Balance of, 5–6, 20–21, 23–24, 43, 45, 49–50, 52, 195, 202–204
 - After Vienna, 113–119
 - and socialization, 21
 - Assumptions required to ensure, 52–53
 - In Cold War System, 77
 - In interwar period, 75–76, 142–143
 - In late Cold War, 176–185
 - In Vienna System, 70–72
 - Operationalization of, 82–85
 - Politics vs. system, 70
 - Static vs. dynamic, 70
 - Technology and, 77
- Exogeneity of, 66
- Latent vs. realized, 17n64, 44
 - Roles reversed in 20th century, 75–76
- Relative, and levels of activity, 54
- Soft, 195
- Power transition theory, 14n54, 57
- Preferences, 32, 40, 43
 - Ideal points, 32, 43–44
 - Salience, 32
 - And forecasting, 200–202
- Primakov, Yevgenii, 169–172
 - Pravda* article justifying deemphasis of ideology in foreign affairs, 171–172
- Primo, David, 29
- Probabilistic voting model, 34
- Project LINK, 24
- Proliferation, nuclear, 195–202, 207–208
- Public choice theory, 18, 32–34
- Putnam, Robert, 16n63

- Quadruple Alliance, 9, 81
- Quadruple Alliance (1834), 131
- Quayle, Dan, 190

- Raeder, Admiral Erich, 139
- Rakowski, Mieczysław, 184
- Rational choice theory, 8
- Rational expectations models, 26
- Reagan, Ronald, 171, 178, 185

- Realism, 15, 65
 - Realpolitik*, 36, 38, 43, 48, 56, 61–62
 - Defensive, 32n29, 32n30, 48–53, 61
 - Different implications of offensive vs. defensive, 48–52
 - Explanatory failure of, 18–20, 95
 - Impossible outcomes in, 54
 - Neoclassical, 19
 - Neorealism, 8, 18, 60–61
 - Offensive, 18, 32, 48–53, 61
 - Power's exclusive ability to explain outcomes in, 43, 45, 90–93, 95
 - Structural hypothesis of, 45
- Revolution
 - Threat of, after Vienna, 113–119
 - Waning of, 119–120
- Revolutions of 1830, 112, 128–131
- Reykjavik Summit (1986), 178
- Richardson, Lewis Fry, 11
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas, 62
- Roeder, Philip, 35
- Röhm, Ernst, 137
- Romanov, Grigorii, 163
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 138, 145–146, 206n26
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 135
- Rose, Guideon, 19
- Ruhr Crisis, 102
- Rush, Myron, 156
- Russia
 - Worldview of, 118–119
- Rust, Mathias, 164
- Ryzhkov, Nikolai, 163

- Sakharov, Andrei, 167
- Schelling, Thomas, 12n49
- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 78
- Schroeder, Paul, 20n70, 70
- Schwartzberg, Steven, 127
- Schweller, Randall, 132–133
- Selectorate, *see* Constituency
- Semeyko, Lev, 171, 173
- Shevardnadze, Eduard, 156, 163n153, 163, 165, 169, 174, 183, 190
- Short-Range Nuclear Forces (SNF) treaty proposal (1989), 187
- Simmons, Beth, 84
- Singer, J. David, 15
- SIPER project, 12n44
- Skocpol, Theda, 4, 63
- Snyder, Jack, 61–62

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00541-9 - The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective

Bear F. Braumoeller

Index

[More information](#)

274

Index

- Social revolutions, 63
- Sokolov, Sergei, 165
- Sovereignty, 196–198
- Soviet Union, 22
 - 19th Party Conference (1988), 166–167, 173, 181
 - 27th Party Congress (1986), 164, 169–170, 176, 181
 - And “circular flow of power,” 150, 157–160
 - And peaceful coexistence, 152, 173–174
 - Congress of People’s Deputies, 161–162, 167
 - Composition of, 167
 - Constituency in, 150, 158–168
 - Decay of latent power, 154–157
 - Doctrine of reasonable sufficiency, 170–173
 - Glasnost, 161n148
 - Institute of the USA and Canada (ISKAN), 153, 171–172
 - Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), 153, 169–172
 - Perestroika in, 161n148, 164, 190–191
 - Politburo, 150, 152–153, 157–159, 162–164, 166–168, 170, 174, 176
 - Reformers in, 152–154
 - Revolutionary nature of, 74
 - “Testing” of, by United States, 187
 - Twentieth Party Congress (1956), 152
 - Worldview of, 150–151, 157–160, 168–176, 191–192
 - Change in, as result of decline, 155
- Spain
 - Constitution of 1812
 - Reinstatement, and conservative intervention, 125
 - First Carlist War, 130
- Spanish-American War, 82
- Spice Wars, 6
- Sprout, Harold, 65
- Sprout, Margaret, 65
- Spykman, Nicholas, 45
- St. Petersburg, Protocol of (1826), 127
- Stalin, Joseph, 158
- Steinmo, Sven, 4
- Stewart, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, 116–119, 121, 123, 127–128, 131
 - Death of, 122
 - State Paper of May 5, 1820, 118, 121
- Structure, 4–6, 112, 114, 128, 132–133, 141, 147–148, 152, 185–186, 189, 192
 - And regulatory activity, 39
 - distributional nature of, 4–6
 - effects ruled out of definition, 4
 - Of Vienna, Versailles, and Cold War systems, 69–79
- Stuckey, John, 15
- Suri, Jeremi, 78
- Sympathetic vs. antagonistic states, 46
- Syria, 197n12
- System effects, 207–211
- Systemic theory, 18, 113, 132–133
 - And foreign policy, 37
 - And general equilibrium theory, 24
 - Macroeconomic modeling of, 24–28
 - Complexity vs. parsimony of, 28–29
 - Connected to deterrence theory, 38
 - History of, 10–15
 - Importance of, in international relations, 211–212
 - In international relations, 12–15
 - Endogeneity of, as a problem for theory, 14
 - Imprecision of, 14
 - vs. structural theory, 13
 - Intuition, 1–3
 - Nested politics model of, *see* Nested politics model
 - Reciprocal nature of, 25
 - Specificity of predictions, 18–20
 - vs. structural theory, 18
- Systems
 - And forecasts, 209
 - Causal heterogeneity of
 - Criterion for system, 68
 - Test of, 108–111
 - Homogeneous, 55
- Taft, Robert A., 145
- Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles de, 1, 82
- Temple, Henry John, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, 75, 121, 123–124, 128–131
 - And liberalism, 124
- Terrorism, 195–202, 208
- The Limits to Growth*, 12
- The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (NSC document)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-00541-9 - The Great Powers and the International System: Systemic Theory in Empirical Perspective

Bear F. Braumoeller

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

275

- 2002, 197
- 2006, 197, 205
- Thelen, Kathleen, 4
- Thucydides, 1
- Tikhonov, Nikolai, 163
- Tilly, Charles, 62
- Tinbergen, Jan, 24
- Trading states, 55–57
- Treaty of Vienna, 9
- Triple Alliance, 9, 81
- Triple Entente, 9
- Troppau Protocol, 118
- Troppau, Congress of, 118
- Truman, Harry, 132
- Tsebelis, George, 16n63
- Tuchman, Barbara, 195
- United Kingdom
 - And Portugal, 122, 125–126, 130
 - Elections of 1830, 123, 128
 - Liberalization of, after Vienna, 119–124
 - Reform Act of 1832, 120, 124
 - Worldview of, after Vienna, 114
 - Worldview of, in 1815, 116–118
- United Nations, 8n28
- United States
 - Activity of, in interwar period, 140–146
 - Arms levels of, 141
 - Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) initiative (1989), 188
 - Covert assistance to interwar European democracies, 143
 - Democratization and, 204–206
 - Destroyers-for-bases deal, 145
 - Involvement in World War II of, prior to Pearl Harbor, 146
 - Lend-Lease Act (1940), 145
 - Neutrality Laws, 141, 143
 - NSR-3 (National Security Review) (1989), 187
 - “Open Skies” proposal (1989), 188
 - Post-Cold War foreign policy, 196–202
 - Public opinion in, regarding interwar intervention, 143–146
 - Selective Training and Service Act (1940), 145
 - September 11, 2001 attacks on, 195, 197, 204
 - Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 177
 - Uncertainty of, about Soviet reforms, 185–186
 - Resolved only after structural change, 186, 190–191
 - Worldview of, 205
- Van Evera, Stephen, 61
- Vandenberg, Arthur H., 145
- Varga, Yevgenii, 170–171
- Verona, Congress of (1822), 125
- Versailles System, 21–22, 147
- Versailles, Treaty of, 73, 75, 102
- Vienna System, 2, 21–22, 69–73, 115–132, 147, 212
 - Structure of international system in, 116
 - Systemic nature of, 132
- Vienna, Treaty of, 112, 131
 - Capabilities and legitimacy in, 115–117
- Wallerstein, Immanuel, 6
- Walras, Léon, 24
- Waltz, Kenneth, 1, 13, 14n54, 14–15, 19, 37, 52, 61, 99n70
 - Theory of International Politics*, 13
- Watson, Adam, 10n37, 80
- Weimar Germany, 64
- Wellesley, Arthur, 1st Duke of Wellington, 123, 125–126, 128–129
- Wellington, Duke of, *see* Wellesley, Arthur, 1st Duke of Wellington
- Wendt, Alexander, 6, 7n25, 8, 13, 15, 23, 62, 65
 - Social Theory of International Politics*, 14n54
- Westad, Odd Arne, 78
- Williams, William Appleman, 78
- Willkie, Wendell, 145
- Wilson, Woodrow, 73, 75
- Witkiewicz, Stanislaw, 62
- Wohlforth, William, 19, 37, 54, 65, 149
- Wolfers, Arnold, 37, 61, 75
- Worldviews, 30–31, 40, 43–44, 54, 60–63
 - And constructivism, 30
 - And domestic politics, 63–64
 - And liberalism, 30
 - Definition, 31
 - Operationalization of, 86–89
 - Relationship to interests and preferences, 40
- Yakovlev, Aleksandr, 153, 159, 163, 166, 169–170, 173, 182
- Yazov, Dmitri, 165, 172

276	<i>Index</i>
Yeltsin, Boris, 167	Zaller, John, 34
Young Plan (1929), 134	Zaslavskaya, Tatiana
	And the Novosibirsk Report, 154
Zakaria, Fareed, 65	Zaslavskaya, Tatiana, 169