

REVIEW ARTICLE

Gavin Boyd and Charles Pentland. *Issues in Global Politics*.
New York: The Free Press, 1981.

Reviewed by

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In their study of conflict and cooperation among states, an increasing number of scholars are referring to global, rather than international, politics. This is a result of the growing realization that the international behavior of states is as much related to their internal structures and processes as to their perceptions of their place and role in the global community. While before, the main political actors were the Western states, the contemporary world has become a more complex, integral entity with more and varied linkages between old and new states, domestic and international politics, world economics and national development, and between public opinion and foreign-policy priorities. Nonstate actors such as intergovernmental and transnational institutions have been incorporated in the process of modernization and integration. Traditional concerns such as war, diplomacy and trade are now matched by the new issues of ecology, development and international debt.

The book, *Issues in Global Politics*, is a compendium of analytical works on the configuration, dynamics, problems and the future of the global system. Used as the framework of analysis by the authors is the interrelatedness and interpenetration among states, international organizations as well as globally concerned interest groups.

James Dougherty's introductory chapter, "The Configuration of the Global System," describes the dominant global actors, issues and dimensions. Although the bargaining process in the global system is polyarchic, its structure is hierarchical with two triangular relationships: (a) the politico-military triangle consisting of the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and China, and (b) the economic triangle composed of the U.S., the European Economic Community and Japan. However, the interdependence among structures and processes in such a pentapolar world has not succeeded in generating a sense of community because the process of global integration and the distribution of power have

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been obviously uneven. The security and economic issues facing the global actors and the theoretical and practical problems in building global institutions are the focus of attention of the succeeding articles.

In his study of the United States as the most heavily involved global actor, Donald Lampert looks into the role of government and non-state groups in the global agenda. He discerns a certain degree of transformation in American foreign policy with closely linked global and domestic economic issues assuming greater importance over purely military-security considerations. The author concludes that the United States' self-image of superiority and its particularistic notions of national interest prevent her from keeping in step with global demands. In particular, its economic liberalism and commitment to free trade are at the root of the American bias against the New International Economic Order.

An analysis of the behavior of the other global power, the Soviet Union, is provided by Andrzej Korbonski. Two factors have enabled that country to reach parity with the United States: The Soviet lead in the development of long-range strategic arms and the lack of American resolve to counter Soviet global advances. It has also for the past two decades increased its participation in international trade, particularly as exporter of oil and raw materials. Nonetheless, the Soviet leadership has thus far displayed its political maturity by not using its newly found economic power to blackmail oil importers from the West. This self-restraint reflects its serious desire to avoid a crisis situation. Korbonski thinks that the growing North-South polarization will eventually place the Soviet Union in the same camp as Western industrialized countries which have a stake in the development of Soviet natural resources. This possibility is seen as contributory to international political stability. As the author sees it, the main challenge to the Soviet Union will come from China and the Eastern European countries. The Soviets' insistence in regarding their country as the leader of international communism and model of a revolutionary society will always meet resistance from their colleagues in the socialist camp.

The global impact of the European Community which has been mainly economic, is discussed by John Pinder. With a tenth of its gross product exported and a similar proportion spent on imports, the Community maintains a wider span of economic relations than any other global actor. Its common commercial policy and proportion of aid budgets in relation to developing countries make for its extensive collective influence over a considerable segment of the

world economy.

The Community also plays an instrumental role in global strategy particularly through NATO. The Soviet Union's growing power has always been a stimulus for both economic and political cooperation, e.g. the formation of ECSC and a European defense plan after the 1948 communist takeover in Czechoslovakia, the creation of EEC following the Soviet occupation of Hungary and the expansion of the Community after the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Apprehensive about strengthening the U.S.S.R.'s control of East European economies, the Community has done its part to offset Soviet influence in the region through economic means. It has spurned Comecon proposals to negotiate on trade matters, giving the explicit reason that Comecon does not have the authority to negotiate on behalf of its member-states.

With its vast population and geographical expanse, China is another global actor to consider. Gavin Boyd analyzes this modernizing country's unique position in the global system. Although China had long been relatively isolated in the global pattern of interdependencies, its global importance has been enhanced by the United States' interest in capitalizing on the adversary relationship of the Chinese vis-a-vis the Soviets.

China has no major involvement in the North American-West European Japanese-OPEC relationships which dominate international commerce. Her importance lies more in the international strategic system in which she is capable of threatening targets in the Soviet Far East and countering a Soviet attack. Despite Peking's quarrels with the Reagan administration over the Taiwan issue, there is no doubt that the United States as well as the West European powers appreciate China's global importance as an adversary power of the Soviet Union.

The ASEAN countries have likewise found an ally in China with respect to the Kampuchea question. Such a relationship endures only insofar as either ASEAN or China regard Vietnam as a belligerent, client-state of the Soviets. Optimist observers still see the possibility that Vietnam will re-assume a fiercely nationalist and independent stance once it has the resources and capacity to do so. In such an eventuality, the Vietnamese would have to reexamine their political relationships with their Asian neighbors.

Although China has close relations with North Korea, there is every indication that the latter would seek military support from the Soviet Union rather than from China in the event of a major conflict on the Korean peninsula.

Further complicating China's present position in the global balance-of-power is the likelihood that the U.S. would be willing to sacrifice her China connection in order to reach a lasting settlement with the U.S.S.R. Moreover, its identification with the U.S. and Western Europe has considerably diminished China's revolutionary appeal to anti-Western groups in Africa, Latin America and South-west Asia.

Most of the authors agree that the loosening of traditional alliance systems is a testimony to the obsolescence of the East-West conflict and the growing importance of the North-South controversy. Harold Jacobson asserts that economics has assumed greater importance in global politics because governments are held accountable by their constituents for their economic performance. There has been a relative decline in the salience of security issues due to the nuclear standoff between the superpowers and the rough equilibrium between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization because economic resources are spread more widely than military resources. The global military bipolarity dissolves when the frame of reference shifts to economic resources. It is primarily for this reason that the Soviet Union would like to see a deepening of the North-South cleavage. Her economic base is proportionately smaller and she is relatively isolated from the economic interaction between the First and Third Worlds. However, as has been pointed out by Korbonski, the Soviet Union might one day find itself in the same league as the Western, industrialized countries because of long-range common interests that it shares with them in global trade and development of natural resources. Still, the wide range of adversaries which the U.S.S.R. faces along her borders generates pressures in the arms competition. Unlike the United States, the Soviets have a long land frontier that is lined with traditional adversaries—several European nations, Iran, Turkey, China and some South Asian nations. They demand large theater and strategic nuclear forces that would pressure the U.S. to increase her military strength. But the deterrent value of mutual destruction has made the superpowers sufficiently concerned about escalation to exercise considerable constraint.

The decline of the U.S. ability to actively defend the interests of Japan and Western Europe in the event of a Soviet attack has led to rifts in the Western camp. Japan and Western Europe have differed from the United States on policies toward the Middle East. Both are more concerned with deterring than defending against Soviet threats, because active defense means general destruction for Japan and most of Western Europe.

They also have greater autonomy with respect to the security aspects of the North-South controversy. The U.S. economy relies to a greater extent on the domestic market, while Western Europe and Japan command a more extensive influence on the global market than their smaller economies would suggest. They are also more dependent on the Third World for raw materials than is the United States.

Charles Pentland sees the NIEO, which has cut across established bipolar divisions, as a significant development in the globalization process:

The debate over a New International Economic Order—the dominant attempt to forge a new basis for global politics—perhaps may be usefully likened to the process of making international law. Even if a consensus is elusive and not all interests are fully satisfied, the continuing debate itself provides an environmental constraint within which incremental decisions are made and implemented on particular issues between particular actors. The NIEO motif itself limits the propensity of state and nonstate actors to violate its norms, at least at the level of rhetoric. So even if NIEO provides merely an alternative network of global contacts and conferences reflective of current and emerging issues, it certainly encourages further international socialization and awareness, and it may well result in substantive as well as procedural change, with substructural as well as superstructural reforms.

Because of the continuing debate, “the weak and the poor now have ready forums in which to embarrass, if no longer to frighten the strong and the rich.” Pentland argues that while there may not be political development on the global level, there seems to be a slow process of international political socialization “to the extent that issues of security and economics become perceived as, or translated into, institutional issues.” He concedes, however, that there is a countervailing tendency towards economic competition and nationalism. If international actors are unable to achieve an equitable world order, we shall find a continuation of the structural trends towards concentration and inequality instead of the beginning of the process of redistribution and equity.

The prevalence of national interests despite global interdependence shows that world-order proponents have a long way to go in achieving their goals. The “national-security straitjacket” to which they attribute international conflict continues to inhibit the process of global integration. Perhaps, it is only when the world

reaches the height of the arms race and ecological destruction that national leaders will be awakened to the folly of competition and the limits of global resources. Only after experiencing great catastrophe will they realize the value of establishing a world community that would address itself to the more common and basic needs of mankind.

The book is a highly recommended reading for professors of international politics, because it will introduce them to the more recent literature in the field and will broaden their insights on contemporary international issues; In the Philippines few have gone beyond the realist school of Hans Morgenthau. Boyd and Pentland's wide collection of analytical studies updates readers on the research findings of equally important scholars like Robert Gilpin, Ali Mazrui, Bruce Russett, Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye, Donald Puchala, Hedley Bull, Joan Edelman Spero, Thomas Weisskopf, George Modelski, Timothy Shaw, Mahbub ul Haq, Seyom Brown, Johan Galtung and the "dependencistas." Familiarity with the theoretical framework of these credible analysts will provide the much needed meaning and coherence to the data that most foreign policy makers are swamped with.

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**Articles of Incorporation of the Philippine
Political Science Association**

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, all of legal age and citizens of the Philippines, have this day voluntarily associated ourselves together for the purpose of forming a non-stock corporation under the laws of the Republic of the Philippines.

AND WE HEREBY CERTIFY:

FIRST, That the name of the corporation shall be **PHILIPPINE POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, INC.**

SECOND, That it is a non-stock, non-profit, non-partisan, and non-sectarian organization created for the following purposes:

1. To promote, encourage, and support the objectives and disinterested study of Political Science which, according to Aristotle, is "the most sovereign of the arts and sciences."

2. To publish a Journal.

3. To seek to establish and maintain contact with similar professional or scholarly organizations in the interest of mutual enlightenment.

THIRD, That the place where the principal office of the corporation is to be established or located in Quezon City, Philippines.

FOURTH, That the term for which said corporation is to exist shall be fifty (50) years from and after the date of incorporation.

FIFTH, That the names, nationalities, and residents of the incorporators of said corporation are as follows:

NAME	NATIONALITY	RESIDENCE
1. Remigio E. Agpalo	Filipino	123-C Kamuning Road, Q.C.
2. Emerenciana Y. Arcellana	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.
3. Pedro E. Baldoria	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.
4. Quirino D. Carpio	Filipino	22 Alabama Street, Q.C.
5. Antonio Domagas	Filipino	Calasiao, Pangasinan
6. Rex D. Drilon	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.
7. Alejandro Fernandez	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.
8. Avelina S. Salacup	Filipino	2223 A. Arellano, Makati, Rizal
9. Eva M. Duka Ventura	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.

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SIXTH, That the members of the Executive Board of the corporation shall be nine (9) and shall be persons of good character and standing in the community.

SEVENTH, That the names and members of the Executive Board of the Corporation who are to serve until their successors are elected and qualified as provided for in the By-Laws are as follows:

NAME	NATIONALITY	RESIDENCE
1. Remigio E. Agpalo	Filipino	123-C Kamuning Road, Q.C.
2. Emerenciana Y. Arcellana	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.
3. Pedro E. Baldoria	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.
4. Quirino D. Carpio	Filipino	22 Alabama Street, Q.C.
5. Antonio Domagas	Filipino	Calasiao, Pangasinan
6. Rex D. Drilon	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.
7. Alejandro Fernandez	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.
8. Avelina S. Salacup	Filipino	2223 A. Arellano, Makati, Rizal
9. Eva M. Duka Ventura	Filipino	U.P. Campus, Diliman, Q.C.

EIGHTH, That the amount of money to be devoted to the maintenance of said corporation is such sum as may from time to time be received or acquired by deed, bequest, gift, contribution, or other appropriation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto set our hands this 25th day of September, 1962, in Quezon City, Philippines;

Remigio E. Agpalo (Sgd.)

Antonio Domagas (Sgd.)

Emerenciana Y. Arcellana (Sgd.)

Rex D. Drilon (Sgd.)

Pedro E. Baldoria (Sgd.)

Alejandro Fernandez (Sgd.)

Quirino D. Carpio (Sgd.)

Avelina S. Salacup (Sgd.)

Eva M. Duka Ventura (Sgd.)

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The By-Laws of the Philippine Political Science Association

ARTICLE I: NAME

This Association shall be known as the *Philippine Political Science Association*.

ARTICLE II: NATURE AND PURPOSES

1. This Association shall be non-stock, non-profit, non-partisan, and non-sectarian.

2. The Association shall promote, encourage, and support the study of Political Science.

3. This Association shall publish a Journal called *Philippine Political Science Journal*.

4. This Association shall establish and maintain contact with similar professional, national and international organizations in the interest of mutual enlightenment.

ARTICLE III: MEMBERSHIP

1. There shall be five (5) kinds of members in this Association:

a. *Charter Members*. These members are those who signed the Articles of Incorporation of the Philippine Political Science Association.

b. *Regular Members*. These members are those who are interested to join and finally elected to membership in this Association, and who pays the annual membership fees.

c. *Life Members*. These members are those who upon election to membership, or within one (two) year(s) of their election to membership, pay an amount to be decided upon by the Association.

d. *Associate Members*. These members are students or other persons who are interested in, or have majored in, Political Science and who have applied for and are subsequently elected to membership for a specified period and upon payment of the required fees.

e. *Honorary Members*. These members are those of eminent distinction in the field of Political Science or related fields, who evince sincere, and beneficent support of the Association.

2. Each of the Charter and Regular Members pays an annual fee to be decided upon by the Association.
3. The voting members of the Association are its Charter, Regular, and Life Members.
4. The Association reserves the rights to revoke membership in the Association. Revocation may be done upon formal motion in a business meeting and determined by the majority vote of all members present in said meeting; provided that such revocation be done according to the rules and procedures prescribed by the Association.

ARTICLE IV: OFFICERS

1. The officers of the Association shall consist of the President, Vice-President, Executive Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, Legal Officer, Public Relations Officers, Business Manager, Student Representative and other officers as may be needed by the Association. The officers of the Association and the Chairman of the Board of Editors of the Philippine Political Science Journal shall comprise the Executive Board.

2. The abovementioned officers shall be chosen by a majority vote of the members attending with voting rights. The officers shall serve for a term of one year from the date of election with no reelection to the same position. The Student Representative are elected by the Associate Members.

3. The President shall preside at the meetings of the Association, shall execute all the policies of the Association, shall appoint the members of committees needed in carrying out the purposes and policies of the Association, shall represent the Association, and perform all other functions inherent in the Office of the President.

4. The Vice-President shall become the President for the unexpired term when the President dies, resigns, or is permanently incapacitated. If the President is temporarily unable to discharge his duties, the order of succession will be as follows: Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Public Relations Officer, Auditor.

5. The Executive Secretary shall take and keep the minutes of the meetings of the Executive Board and assemblies of the Association and attend to other matters assigned by the Executive Board.

6. The Treasurer shall be responsible for the collection and custody of regular fees and donations. He shall submit financial reports once a year or as often as required by the Executive Board.

7. The Auditor shall see to it that all expenditures and disbursements of the funds or resources of the Association shall have been duly authorized. He shall examine the financial records and other books of the Association from time to time in order to insure and safeguard the resources of the Association.

8. The Legal Officer shall take care of all legal matters and problems of the Association. He shall assist the President in carrying out the purposes and policies of the Association.

9. The Business Manager shall take charge of managing the interests of Association subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

10. The Press Relation Officer shall be responsible for communicating and disseminating to the general public relevant information regarding the Association.

11. The Student Representatives shall represent the interests of the Association Members in the Executive Board.

ARTICLE V: THE JOURNAL OF THE PHILIPPINE POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION:

1. The Journal of the Association shall be known as the *Philippine Political Science Journal*.

2. The Journal shall be managed by a Board of Editors of five members who shall choose from among themselves a chairman.

3. The Board of Editors shall be chosen by the incoming officers of the Association whose terms will be conterminous with the terms of said officers.

4. The Board of Editors may create sections, division, or any other instrumentality to the management of the Journal.

ARTICLE VI: ANNUAL ASSEMBLY:

1. There shall be an Annual Assembly composed of all the members of the Association of good standing, for the purpose of electing the officers of the Association and adopting major policies thereof.

2. The Annual Assembly is the highest policy-making body of the Association.

3. The Annual Assembly shall meet once a year in any month at a place designated by the Executive Board.

4. On extraordinary matters vital to the interest of the Association, during the period between the meetings of the Annual measures upon the recommendation of the President. Such measure, however, shall be later submitted to the next Annual Assembly which may review, modify, approve, or reject them. Rejected measures shall be immediately discontinued.

ARTICLE VII: STANDING COMMITTEES

1. The following shall be the Standing Committees:
 - a. Committee on Membership
 - b. Committee on Finance
 - c. Committee on Records and Documentation
 - d. Committee on Publications and External Relations
2. The Membership Committee shall be primarily responsible for the recruitment and certification of members. It shall recommend to the Board of the members. The Vice-President shall be the Chairman of the Committee on Membership. The Chairman shall recommend to the Board the number of members of the Committee.
3. The Committee on Finance shall be responsible for the efficient management of the financial resources of the Association. The Business Manager, the Treasurer and Auditor shall constitute the Committee on Finance and as many members designated by the Board upon recommendation of the above designated officers. They shall choose from among the three officers the Chairman of the Committee.
4. The Committee on Records and Documentation shall attend to the efficient management of records and documents of the Association and shall have as its Chairman the Secretary and members as designated by the Board. Records shall not be disseminated without the express approval of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VIII: THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

1. The Officers of the Association and the Board of Editors shall be the Executive Board of the Association.
2. The Executive Board shall make plans for advancing the interests of the Association and submit its proposals to the Annual Assembly.

3. The President of the Association shall be the Chairman of the Executive Board. On extraordinary matters vital to the interest of the Association, during the period between the meetings of the Annual Assembly, the Executive Board may adopt and implement measures upon the recommendation of the President. Such measures, however, shall be later submitted to the next Annual Assembly which may review, modify, approve or reject them. Rejected measures shall be immediately discontinued.

ARTICLE IX: AMENDMENT

1. Any amendment to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Board or by at least one-tenth of all the members of the Association.

2. A proposed amendment shall be ratified by a majority vote of voting members present in the annual assembly.