

## SUMMARIES

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### Features of Sanction Theories and Sanction Analysis

By Raimo Väyrynen

The revival of sanction studies during last ten years can be characterized by the phrase 'new wine in old bottles'. Sanction studies were quite common in the 1930's when economic sanctions were considered under the influence of the Covenant of the League of Nations by many as *the* alternative to war. Nowadays the attitude towards international sanctions has become, however, more pragmatic and studies in this field have cast off the earlier legal approach and instead they emphasize the concepts of general social theory. This emphasis has its methodical problems, too, especially in application of concepts and results of sanction studies of sociology and social psychology.

International sanctions can be classified according to many criteria, e.g. negative vs. positive sanctions, individual vs. collective sanctions, external vs. internal sanctions, or unilateral vs. multilateral vs. universal sanctions. One quite coherent approach has been developed by Peter Wallensteen in his 'A Study of Economic Sanctions'. With the aid of his four 'subtheories' we can analyze most aspects of different sanction cases.

In sender-oriented theories circumstances in the sender-state are taken into account. One useful variable is the rank of the sender, because studies indicate that sanctions are used by high ranking states towards low ranking states. Decisions to apply sanctions have been also explained by the 'cross-pressure hypothesis' — as a compromise in the conflict between 'the doves' and 'the hawks' of the sender. Cross-pressures experienced by the sender can be either internal or international. A variable of this sub-theory is 'sanction threshold', i.e. the total amount of conditions for releasing a negative sanction in a given situation.

In receiver-oriented theories particular stress is put on the effects of sanctions. Again the rank variable, this time that of the receiver, is important. One could expect, e.g. that the dependence of the receiver on the interaction with the sender will influence the outcome of sanctions. Some studies reveal, however, that this aspect is almost negligible, because the receiver can in most cases compensate the loss of interaction with other actors outside the sender.

Two other variables that can predict to a certain extent the outcome of sanctions are 'adaption' and 'cohesion of the receiver'. By adaption — psychological and/or material — the receiver attempts to eliminate the harmful effects of sanctions. According to Coser's hypothesis outside pressure tends to decrease the cohesion of the system if the initial level of cohesion is low. In the opposite case the cohesion tends to increase. The responsiveness of the receiver towards the sender promotes from the sender's standpoint the positive outcome of sanctions.

Sender — receiver relation oriented theories try, on one hand, to link the two above mentioned theories and, on the other hand, to go deeper into the relations between actors in conflict. One approach is to study the common action system of actors and the norms prevalent in this system. It is also possible to construct a sanction hierarchy, which goes from individual, through political, diplomatic and economic sanctions to military sanctions. Each level of this hierarchy can be characterized as 'a sanction round' and the escalation of the sanction conflict to higher levels depends both on the behavior of the receiver and perceptions of the sender. One related approach has been developed by Thomas *Shelling*, who speaks about 'the theory of interdependent decisions'.

In environment-oriented theories one can focus, e.g. on the currently existing international situation, the number of senders and the degree of their consensus. Bruce M. *Russett* has delineated by factor analysis five international regions which are based on socio-cultural homogeneity, trade groupings, common international organizations, UN voting groups and geographical proximity. His analysis reveals that during 1945—65 violent conflicts were most common in clusters of geographical proximity and trade groupings, while violent conflicts are eliminated quite successfully in the clusters of socio-cultural homogeneity and UN voting groups.

The same kind of analysis was repeated in this article with regard to 19 cases of economic sanctions in order to see whether sanctions deviate in one way or another from violent conflicts in this respect. There were, however, no essential differences in the distribution of violent conflicts and economic sanctions in the above mentioned clusters. So we can crudely conclude that if international regions or communities can eliminate economic sanctions they can eliminate violent conflicts, too, and vice versa.

### **The Goals of Two Societies as Expressed by Political Leaders**

By Briitta Koskiahö

Behind any societal-political action lies always a set of values: actions are based on values, structures and goals derived from them. The purpose of the research reported here is to explicate by means of two concrete examples what are the expressed values behind the political action (decisions and their execution) in modern Western society.

Albert D. *Biderman* has made a study of the value aspirations of American society, such as they are expressed in the committee reports of two presidential committees (Hoover, 1933 and Eisenhower, 1960). The present author asks whether the same goals as Biderman found also appear in the same way in other Western societies. In search of a partial answer to this question, a comparison of the American value pattern revealed in Biderman's study is made with the value pattern expressed by the present Finnish prime minister, Mauno *Koivisto* in a volume of his speeches and public statements published in 1968.

The most frequently expressed goals in Western societies include the promotion of democratic objectives, the advancement of the citizens' welfare, and emphasis on human dignity and individual freedom. All these goals have obviously prevailed and are repeatedly expressed through the intensified process of industrialization. These goals can be specified and divided into three categories: the aspirational category (human dignity and individual freedom, democracy, citizens' welfare), the instrumental category (economic growth, efficiency) and combined aspirational/instrumental category (arts, science, agriculture). The analysis was carried out in two ways: 1) a count of the number of different specific goals mentioned in each category; and 2) a count of the number of times specific goals in each category were mentioned in the text.

The comparison of the American and Finnish data was made on the basis of the first type of measurement. The comparison revealed that the order of the groups of goals and categories was similar in both sets of data (rank order correlation .66). However, certain goals were rated higher in the Finnish data than in the American data. These were e.g. individual freedom, equality, and education. Relatively less esteemed were in the Finnish data science, democratic economy, technological change and environmental conditions.

After examining the Finnish data in somewhat greater detail, the author concludes that the analysis should not stop on the level of expressed goals. The goals may be the same, but the means employed to achieve them may be pronouncedly different.

### **The President in the Finnish Political System: New Perspectives and Developmental Trends**

By Paavo Kastari

The author takes up the much-discussed topic of the legal and actual position of the President of Finland within the Finnish political system. Some historical reasons why the presidential power as well as the constitution whereupon it is based have remained unchanged under the pressure of parliamentarism are explicated. Cases that clearly indicate the independent use of power are cited and the areas where this display of independent power is possible are surveyed. Additional factors contributing to the independent power position of the Finnish president are disclosed by the inspection of the characteristics of Finnish politics especially the party system and its functioning in Cabinet formation. The legal and actual relationship between the President and the Cabinet are discussed in detail. Finally future trends in the development of presidential power and presidential responsibility are discussed.